33

Annamalai University Publications in Linguistics-3

A HISTORY OF TAMIL LITERATURE

33 / 1 / 66

C

BY

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

REGISTRAR OF BOOKS SECTION
10 JAN 1966
PUBL

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

ANNAMALAINAGAR

1965

O-,v
N65
6392

A HISTORY OF TAMIL LITERATURE

BY

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN,
Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Dravidian Linguistics,
Annamalai University

WITH COURAGE AND FAITH

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR
1965

PUBLISHED BY THE
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
with the grant made available for this
purpose by the University Grants Commission, India

MADE AT G. S. PRESS, MADRAS

PUBLISHED

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

SIXTYFIRST BIRTHDAY OF

Rajah Sir Dr. M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIAR, KT., B.A., D.Litt.,

with a Prayer for his Long life and Service

to the cause of University Education

FOREWORD

Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaran who is now the Director of Advanced Study in Dravidian Linguistics in the Annamalai University, has had a very diversified and remarkable career. To a large extent a self-taught scholar and now a widely recognised savant not only in the domain of Tamil language and literature but of several other tongues, he came into the profession of teaching, in his own words, by accident. He has successively occupied the headship of the Department of Tamil in the Madras Presidency College and in the Annamalai University. He has, on the occasion of the Sashtiabdapoorthy of the Pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar, produced a stimulating and instructive history of Tamil literature written with succintness and clarity.

As he himself remarks, he has traced the modern trends and developments and outlined their evolution from early times. As in the case of other Indian languages, missionaries and European scholars were responsible for introducing masterpieces like the Tirukkural and Tiruvachakam to the notice of Western countries and it is impossible to overestimate the services rendered to the Tamil language and literature by scholars like Father Beschi in the 18th Century and Dr. Pope in the 19th. Indian scholars have, also, beginning from V. Kanakasabhai and U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, done a great deal to wipe out the reproach of neglecting their own classics.

The author, in his first chapter, deals with the various traditions regarding the Tamil Sangam or Academy and the works attributed to that period and he approaches Tamil literary history through its four periods, namely, the Sangam era, the Pallava period, the Chola age and the age of foreign contact and modernity. He pays special attention to the scenic and psychological background of the Tamil country as

it affects literature. It is rightly pointed out that the poets enjoyed not only the patronage of select individuals but of the people at large so much so that they were in popular parlance identified by striking phrases or images which they had created in their works. The Aham aspect of love regarded as the secret of life and Puram as typifying heroism, self-sacrifice and simplicity of life as well as charity formed the differentiated constituents of Tamil poetry which is also based on a keen appreciation of natural features and phenomena. Professor Meenakshisundaran furnishes a very careful analysis of the two Epics, Silapathikaram and Manimekhalai and indicates in a few pages the secular and religious life led in the Pandyan capital and its environs at a time when Buddhist and Jain influences were forcing themselves on the attention of the people.

Dealing with the masterpiece, Tirukkural and other specimens of ethical literature, the Professor points out the change in the rhythm and language from Akaval to Venba and shows us how an increasing emphasis is gradually laid upon the Jain principles of Ahimsa evidenced in daily life. It is pointed out that not a small portion of Tirukkural should be regarded as dramatic monologues representing the vision and experience of joy in active life as well as the expression of feelings of tolerance and universal love.

The great contribution of the Alwars and the Nayanmars to devotional literature and the development of epic poetry in the Pallava Age culminating in the Jain Perunkatai was followed in the Chola period by the great adaptation of the Valmiki Ramayana by Kambar which is assigned by the author to the tenth century during the reign of Uttamacholan. In a few striking pages, the author points out the significant changes deliberately made by Kambar in the Valmiki Ramayana.

Dealing next with the Periyapuranam of the Chola period narrating the story of a notable saintly group it is emphasised that there are two varieties of saintliness, namely,

the one which cannot be copied by ordinary folk and the other which all can follow. In the author's own language, Chekkilar in the Periyapuranam saved Tamil from sheer imitativeness of Sanskrit classics. Although necessarily brief, the study of later literary trends and the modern period is not the least interesting portion of this book.

The development of Tamil prose through missionary influence and later on exemplified by Arumugha Navalar and Ramalinga Swami and Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar and the recent influence exercised by oratory, journalism and political speeches are dealt with great sensitivity. An account of the development of the novel, short story and the drama is brought up to date. Deserved praise is bestowed on Sambanda Mudaliar's pioneering dramatic activity and on the incomparable service rendered by Subramania Bharathi to devotional and nationalistic poetry. As the Professor remarks, an all-round development has been revealed by this survey and we may join with him in the confident prophesy that the future of Tamil literature is very promising.

This account is a valuable addition to the literature of sympathetic and discerning literary criticism.

Madras, C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR
14-10-1965.

PREFACE

The second series of my lectures at the Department of the South-Eastern Studies in the Chicago University is printed here in a book form. These lectures are on the history of Tamil literature. I have described in my Introduction to the *History of Tamil Language*, how I was encouraged by Sri. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University and Dr. Milton Singer, Professor of Sociology of the Chicago University, to deliver these lectures. This gave me an opportunity to collect my ideas and give them a form. Naturally the scope of these lectures had to be very limited, offering only an introduction to a detailed study of the history of Tamil literature.

It was very much regretted by students, teachers and the general public that there was no suitable and authoritative text for the history of Tamil literature which was offered as a course both for B.A. and M.A. in Tamil. The books available either emphasise without any sense of proportion any one period of this history or restrict themselves to fixing the chronology without any attempt to trace the history of the literary trends. As the Head of the Department of Tamil and Research at the Annamalai University between 1944 and 1946 and as the Chief Professor of Tamil and Head of the Department of Tamil in the Presidency College, upgraded for research, from 1954 to 1958 and as the Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil (Arts) again at Annamalai University from 1958, I tried to run this course for M.A. on lines similar to the course in the history of English and other Western literatures. Since the students cannot possibly think for themselves in evaluating the literary greatness of ancient literature, whilst they can do so with confidence and experience with reference to modern literature in their own mother tongue, I preferred starting the course with the modern period, gradually going back, tracing the modern trends and developments through the earlier centu-

ries to the earliest source. This method was found successful but I could not follow this in an introductory course nor in many articles which I was requested to write for Souvenirs, Journals and Seminars though I did attempt in an article of mine. But for the experience in teaching this history and writing such articles I could not have delivered these lectures. I must mention that the staff and students of the Tamil and the Linguistics Departments of the Annamalai University attended my extension lectures on this very history, as it were, as a rehearsal for their delivery at Chicago and suggested improvements.

I must confess that I came into the profession of teaching Tamil by sheer accident of coming into contact with great scholars, one of whom Sri K. Vadivelu Chettiyar, my Guru, was mainly responsible for revealing to me the depth of scholarship possible not only in philosophy and logic but also in Tamil language and literature. It is true I come of a family which has been at least for three generations connected with the development of Tamil studies. I still remember my grandfather Guruswami Gramani feeding me even whilst I was a child with interesting quotations from *Kuṟaḷ*. My father Sri Ponnuswami Gramani was a student of *Aṣṭāvadāṉam* Subbaraya Chettiyar, one of the illustrious disciples of Mahāvidvān Mīnākshisundaram Piḷḷai after whom my father in his fullness of his love of Tamil and Tamil scholars named me. My brother T. K. Pāvalar had already made his mark in Tamil drama. My Tamil teachers like Sri Krishnaswami Mudaliyar and Sri Govindaraja Mudaliyar in the High Schools and especially Sri Celvakkesavaraya Mudaliyar in the College, by love and sincerity, in addition to their erudition, have inspired me with a love for Tamil language and literature. It was my good fortune that I was really initiated into the mysteries of literary appreciation as though into a mystic experience by a Professor of English, Sri K. V. Ramanatha Iyer, who in the course of his lectures on English literature attempted to explain certain depths in English poetry with the help of suitable quotations from Tamil literature which not only gave, as it were, a new dimension to my experience

of Tamil poetry, but also suggested a new way of approaching Tamil poetry from a refreshingly modern point of view. The national movement trained my brain and my heart to understand and appreciate better the literature and culture of our Motherland. In the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi the study and popularisation of our languages had an important place and during the freedom struggle I concentrated on this work though I had no basic degree in Tamil; for, in those days our study of Tamil was stopped with the Intermediate examination. Though I have no formal qualifications for being a Professor of Tamil, my practical experience in teaching Tamil to Vidwan and M. A. Courses for private condidates on behalf of *Ceṉṉai vētānta caṅkam* and *Ceṉṉai-t-tamiḻ-c-caṅkam* came to the notice of that great patron of all knowledge in general and Tamil in particular Rajah Sir Dr. M. Annamalai Chettiar, who, therefore requested me to organise the Tamil Department of his great University by becoming its Head. But since I happened to be there for only two years till 1946, I could not translate the glorious vision of that great son of India into a concrete shape by way of organising his Tamil Department. After eight years, thanks to the suggestion given by Sri C. Rajagopalachari and Sri K. Kamaraj Nadar, that since I was not interested in active politics I should concentrate on my Tamil Studies, I started working in this field to become once again a teacher first in the Presidency College, where I was encouraged by the then Education Minister Sri C. Subramanyam to follow my plans of development of the Department. At the kind and pressing invitation of the then Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai and with the kind interest shown by its Pro-Chancellor Rajah Sir Dr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiar I came back in 1958 to the Annamalai University, the great Centre for Tamil learning. These are the only qualifications for my lecturing on the History of Tamil literature which I hope the orthodox scholars will not judge as impertinence. My approach therefore is from the public point of view rather than from the scholarly and purely academic point of view, though these also have not been forgotten by me.

I have to state that the Scheme of transliteration, here followed is that of the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University.

With great pleasure, now I come to express my gratitude to all those who have shaped me in such a way to write this history. I must especially mention Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai and the late lamented Sri V. Subrahmanya Nadar, the previous Vice-Chancellors of the Annamalai University. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, one of the greatest sons of India under whom it is a pleasure to serve, is mainly responsible for sanctioning the publication of the work in the University with the grant made available by the University Grants Commission. I must thank Sri A. Ramaswami Pillai and Sri P. Arunachalam of the Tamil (Arts) Department, Sri M. Shanmugam Pillai, Sri S. V. Shanmugam, Sri E. Annamalai and Sri G. Vijayavenugopal of the Linguistics Department who corrected the first draft of my lectures and noted down the references and Dr. Asher, Sri R. Radhakrishnan and Dr. A. K. Ramanujam, who, whilst at Chicago were kind enough to read through my drafts and correct them. The present form of the lectures owes a good deal to these, especially to Dr. Asher who made the English as tolerable as possible. I must also mention with pleasure and gratitude the names of the Professors like Dr. Milton Singer, Dr. Van Buitenen and others of the South Eastern Department of the Chicago University who by their presence at these lectures and by their searching questions and suggestions made me appreciate better the History of Tamil literature.

I must thank Sri E. Annamalai, Sri S. Suseendirarajah, Sri K. S. Kamaleswaran and Sri G. Vijayavenugopal of the Linguistics Department for going through the proof of this edition. I am greatly indebted to the University Grants Commission for making this publication possible.

There were proposals for publishing it abroad but I am happy that it is printed in India and under the auspices of the University which I serve. Providence has so worked

that this book is being released on the 61st Birthday of Rajah Sir Dr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiar, the Pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University to whose abiding and loving interest this University must be ever grateful. I am therefore grateful to this kindly Providence which makes this book greet on this day our Pro-Chancellor with many happy returns of the day.

Annamalainagar,
2-8-1965.

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION OF TAMIL LETTERS

அ	a
ஆ	ā
இ	i
ஈ	ī
உ	u
ஊ	ū
எ	e
ஏ	ē
ஐ	ai
ஒ	o
ஓ	ō
ஔ	au
ஃ	ḵ

க	k
ங	ṅ
ச	c
ஞ	ñ
ட	ṭ
ண	ṇ
த	t
ந	n
ப	p
ம	m
ய	y
ர	r
ல	l
வ	v
ழ	ḻ
ள	ḷ
ற	ṟ
ன	ṉ

க்ஷ	kṣ
ஷ	ṣ
ஸ	ś
ஜ	j

CONTENTS

Foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar	v
Preface	ix
Scheme of Transliteration	xv
Errata	xix
General Remarks	1
Caṅkam Poetry	17
Twin-Epics	34
The Ethical Literature	47
Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs	65
The Jain Epics	83
The Epics of the Cola period	102
Minor poetry	126
Later literary trends	153
Modern period	171
Bibliography	192
Index	201

ERRATA

Page	Line	Error	Correction
13	6	895	885
30	28	emphasis	emphasise
38	12	lost	last
39	22	*kuṉṟ-k-kuravai*	*kuṉṟa-k-kuravai*
52	10	*Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭkai*	*Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭikai*
76	30	with	by
81	29	poets'	poet's
92	7	*Cūḷamaṇi*	*Cūḷāmaṇi*
103	11	*Vīrocōḻiyam*	*Vīracōḻiyam*
106	7	seems	Tulasidās seems
107	fn. 26	*pāṭai*	*paṭai*
112	6	love and	love
119	28	*Māṉiṭam vēṉṟataṉṟē*	*Māṉuṭam veṉṟataṉṟē*
126	25	Nacciṉākkiṉiyar	Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar
128	2	on	of
131	3	Āttitaṉ	Ātittaṉ
134	8	Iḷamperumāṉāṭikaḷ	Iḷamperumāṉaṭikaḷ
	18	*malai*	*mālai*
138	23	Kulōṭṭuṅkaṉ	Kulōttuṅkaṉ
142	7	*Talkāppiyam*	*Tolkāppiyam*
	32	appripriate	appropriate
143	fn. 57	Ciṟu-t-tirumaṭal	Ciṟiya tirumaṭal
144	1	ew	new
	fn. 59	Cantra Cēkar	Cantira Cēkara
145	7	sages	stages
148	4	are	is
150	2	*tāḷicai*	*tāḻicai*
151	8	he	the
152	4	vicory	victory
163	3	*Kaṇṇutaiya Vaḷḷaḷār*	Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷalār
164	8	Paṭṭṉaṭṭār	Paṭṭiṉattār

Page	*Line*	*Error*	*Correction*
166	12	pump	pomp
171	19	*kuṟaavañci*	*kuṟavañci*
173	10	introduction	introductions
	16	*poruḻ*	*poruḷ*
	20	Peruntēvaṉar	Peruntēvaṉār
175	19	Civañāṉacuvāmikal	Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ
	fn. 10	Btschi	Beschi
176	16	wote	wrote
178	32	weaying	weaving
182	fn. 18	Kaṇaiyaliyiṉ	Kaṇaiyāḻiyiṉ

Note: The lectures are in the form in which they were delivered in 1962. It is evry much regretted that some of them who were living then are no more with us. I have not corrected these and other such statements.

1. GENERAL REMARKS

Introduction

America was once considered in India as its very antipodes. But, today, thanks to the aeroplane and the radio it is India's next-door neighbour, working with her for the cause of Democracy. In this modern world, Indians are interested in American culture, and the United States of America as one of the leaders of the modern nations is now interested in the study of the culture of the various languages. The National Defence Education Act of 1958 is important from this point of view. It is your universal interest in human culture that has brought me here to take part, with joy, in the inauguration of the Tamil studies in this University.

India is a federation of states, but it is, generally speaking, a federation of linguistic states — its constituent states being differentiated by the languages spoken within each one of them. The Indian constitution mentions therefore fourteen national languages — all of them with literatures of their own. Tamil has probably the most ancient literature amongst these modern Indian languages. Its importance consists in being a classical language and a growing modern language at the same time, as our late Minister of Education, Abul Kalam Azad, observed when he inaugurated the Sahitya Akademi.

Sources — Difficulties

This series of lectures will concentrate on the literature of Tamil. It is the historic march of its literature through the ages with its varying fortunes that is of interest to us in this course of study. Our sources are the literary works in Tamil. Most of the works in Tamil whether literary or otherwise are in verse, and it is very difficult, unless one

studies these, to decide whether they form part of literature in the restricted sense in which the modern age uses that word. Often in the Tamil country, even works on medicine and astrology have been written in verse, more often in a popular rhythm, sometimes following the classical style and sometimes the folk-song motif.[1] To write in these varying verse forms seems to be almost natural to these authors. Apart from these folk-songs and other literary motifs relating to their verse form, sometimes some of these verses are not wanting in poetic embellishment and poetic charm. Even a work on grammar is no exception to this rule. *Tolkāppiyam*, describing certain morpho-phonemic alternations, seems to suggest humorously enough something like the figure of speech called oxymoron. Here is an example: "The wind is like the dew; the rain is like the wind; the sunshine is like the rain; the darkness is like the sunshine."[2] Really there is no contradiction because the *sūtras* are about the behaviour of the words denoting these contraries. The *sūtras* suggesting these indirect implications captivate the minds of the readers. And again, the philosophical works sometimes take the form of mystic poetry. As a result, histories of Tamil literature often include all these works within the special domain of their study, not omitting even the dictionaries in Tamil verses. But in the present study only literary works, including mystic and ethical poetry, will be considered.

There is an abundance of such works, but unfortunately, unlike the Sanskrit classics, they are not available for study by the wider world of scholars through translations in English or other Western languages. Father Beschi in the 18th century introduced *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ* to the Western world through his Latin translation. In the 19th century it was fortunate that the British administrators and Christian missionaries, including American missionaries like Hoisington,

1. Akastiyar, Pañca pūta ārūṭa ṯattuva cōtiṭam.
   Akattiyar citta vaityam etc.
2. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 241, 242, 287, 377, 402.

translated a few of the Tamil classics; but most of them are found in the journals[3] which long ago ceased to be published. *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ* was translated into French, German and many times into English.[4] Dr. Pope in addition to his translation of *Kuṟaḷ* has given the world a translation of *Tiruvācakam,* the book of *bhakti* songs, and of *Nālaṭiyār,* a book of poetic moral epigrams. He has translated from time to time verses from the Caṅkam Age. There have been other attempts. Mention must be made of translations in historical writings and other studies of Tamil culture. An attempt was made in *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago* to give a picture of the Caṅkam Age with a few translations from the original verses.[5]

That a number of literary works available as the source of this history of the Tamil literature, in spite of these attempts, are not available in modern Western languages is indeed very much to be regretted, but this defect may be expected to be removed, when countries like the United States of America take an interest in Tamil literature. But there are much more fundamental defects. One, unfortunately, cannot be rectified. Many works of precious value, if we are to believe the tradition, have disappeared. Even amongst the works known to a previous age many are not available to the modern age, except for a few quotations, found here and there in the anthologies and commentaries. *Rājarājēccura nāṭakam,* for instance, a drama known to us from the inscriptions[6] must have been of immense interest

3. Journal of the American Oriental Society etc.
4. Murdoch, John, Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books, p. 135.
   Aerial, Translated into French.
   Graul, Translated into German.
   Ellis, Translated into English.
   Robertson, Translated into English.
   Aiyar V. V. S., Translated into English.
   Dikshitar V. R. R., Translated into English.
5. Kanakacapai V, The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.
6. S.I.I., Vol. II, Part 3, No. 67, pp. 306.

as belonging to the age of Rājarāja the Great; but it is no longer extant. The works which have come down to the modern age, in a few important cases, have not come in their entirety. Many verses and many lines are missing in the Caṅkam verses of the Eight Anthologies. Only 22 out of 70 verses are available in *Paripāṭal;* only 80 out of 100 in *Patiṟṟup-p-pattu.* Even in such popular works as *Tēvāram* and *Tiruvācakam* many verses are missing.

With reference to some of the classics available, there is another kind of difficulty because of the tradition of interpolation. A nun, Kantiyār, is said to have included her verses in the Jain epic *Cintāmaṇi;*[7] another scholar, Veḷḷiyampalavāṉar, is said to have composed additional verses in *Periyapurāṇam.*[8] Perhaps they were not intended as interpolations; they may be elaborations of some of the episodes, intended as separate and independent poems which probably have been added as part and parcel of the original epics by a later age. Many see such interpolations even in the great epic of Tamil land, *Kamparāmāyaṇam.*

The colophons[9] to the Caṅkam verses are important as giving particulars about the poet and his patron. Dr. Cāminā̄ta Aiyar, who edited these verses, had to change these colophons in subsequent editions because of the discrepancy between the colophon and the matter found in the poem itself. Fortunately such cases are very few indeed. Often the colophon gives also the context or the particulars of the literary heading which the verse illustrates. The commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar of the 16th century holds that these are

7. (1) Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Cintāmaṇi 3145.
(2) Rākava Aiyaṅkār (Ed.), Peruntokai 1549.

8. Cōmacuṉṯara Ṯēcikar, Paṯinēḻām Nūṟṟāṇṭu-t- Tamiḻ-p- Pūlavarkaḷ Varalāṟu.

9. The colophons are the narrative passages at the end of each verse explaining the dramatic situation in which the particular monologue takes place.

later day additions according to a later tradition and therefore not authoritative.[10]

The other difficulty is that many of the manuscripts in cadjan or palmyra leaves could not be dated earlier than the 18th century; for these leaves cannot be preserved for long in the climatic conditions of Tamil land. Photo-stat copies of Tamil works in the cadjan leaves of the 12th century A.D., preserved in the much more favourable climate of Tibet, have been made. Unfortunately we cannot say whether they are at present available for study. A careful survey of the libraries of Europe may bring to light older manuscripts. Even with reference to the manuscripts preserved, it is very clear that they have been copied by people who had not much learning. Here arises the question whether the reading one gets is that of the age of the copyist or that of the original.

In addition to these difficulties textual criticism, as it is understood in the West, has not as yet been followed in the editions of the Tamil classics. It is the subjective impressions of the editor as making some sense or better sense, rather than objective methods to restore the original through collation and reconstruction, that have guided the editors till now.

In addition to all these factors, one has to admit a break in the traditional study of these ancient works as confessed to the present speaker by the erudite scholar and editor Dr. Cāmināta Aiyar. Because of the troubled times, there were only a few scholars in Tamil in the 18th century. Before these ancient classics were edited in the 19th century, there was perhaps no detailed study of the Caṅkam works except through quotations occurring in commentaries. To-day the Caṅkam works are more or less well-known to all and are more popular. But in the 18th century the East India Company restricted by its regulations the printing of

10. Naccinārkkiniyar, Commentary on Tolkāppiyam, 1036.

works in the indigenous languages by the native Indians. Till the restriction was removed in 1835 by Sir Charles Metcalf there could be no publication in Tamil. The effect of this interdict can very well be imagined. Immediately after the removal of the restrictions on printing, native presses began to be established, though they were still required to obtain a licence.[11] The same was perhaps true of all Eastern languages and older books. The present generation owes a debt of gratitude to British administrators like Sir Charles Metcalf who worked incessantly for the abolition of this regulation and for the founding, within Fort St. George, of an institution of Tamil and other South Indian languages, an institution which started issuing many original works and editions. Unfortunately even some of these printed works are no longer available.

All this only shows how necessary it is first to make an extensive suvey of available manuscripts, and secondly to edit in the most scientific way all the important texts.

Chronology. I. Tradition

Any history can be only on the basis of the chronological arrangement of the facts available. In spite of the Indians being individualistic enough to demand often individual salvation, they concentrated on the Eternal, beyond Time, rather than on the panorama of the marching of Time, according to the clock and Zodiac. They were, it is true, interested in emphasising the tragic passage of time, but even then it is the generalisation rather than the particular succession of events that has been of interest to them.

Poetic truth rather than historical fact has driven them to express their valid subjective criticisms in the form of anecdotes full of anachronisms and divine miracles. Therefore, not only has there been no serious attempt at

11. Murdoch, John, Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books, p. LX.

chronological arrangement, but there has also been an unconscious blurring of the historical perspective in these traditions which speak of many imaginary poetic conversations and debates between poets and poetesses of various ages. But all these features are not special to Tamil literature.

There is again the belief, nurtured in the medieval period, in which everything was traced to a divine source and to a golden millennium long past. There is often an attempt to enshrine a historical event in the midst of mythological stories and divine miracles. Āḻvārs, the saints who sang the hymns on Viṣṇu in Tamil, are, many of them, carried back beyond the *Kaliyuga*. In spite of assertions by Tamil poets and philosophers like Umāpaticivam that there is nothing sacred about books of the past and nothing unauthoritative about books of today, attempts have been made to glorify the worth of a book by assigning it to a very ancient period of history, and any attempt at examination of this tradition has been often mistaken for heterodoxy.

Avvaiyār comes in the pre-Pallava or Caṅkam age; she comes also as a contemporary of Cuntarar of the Pallava age, and again comes to live in the period of Oṭṭa-k-kūttar of the later Cola age. Perhaps this may be due to the identity of names being mistaken for an identity of personalities of different ages. There was also the habit, very often, of the later writers assuming the names of great men of a previous age, even though such names had fallen into disuse. Or again it may, in an earlier age, be due to the fact that certain works, elaborated by a series of successors in a particular school of thought, were named after their original teacher. Such a theory has been put forward with reference to *Manusmṛti* and it may be possible to argue on the same lines with reference to such works like *Tolkāppiyam*, Nakkīrar's commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Aka-p-poruḷ*, etc.

One has to take note of the spreading popularity of the *Mahābhārata* story all over India, with which all local folk stories have come to be commingled. As a result, an attempt has been made to explain every ruler and every statement

having anything to do with the number five as being associated with that epic's heroes, the five Pāṇḍavas. The caves in which there are five or more beds carved out, are called after the Pāṇḍavas. The *rathas* or temples in Mahabalipuram are also called after the Pāṇḍavas. The mention in the Caṅkam verses of the Cera feeding the Five[12] — perhaps a confederation — and the Hundred is interpreted from very earliest times as a contemporary reference to the *Mahābhārata* war.

There is also the now well-known Indian convention of ascribing the victories and achievements, whether historical or mythological, of the predecessors to their successors. For instance, the founding of the Tamil Academy is attributed to many a Pandya king. The carving of the Cera insignia on the Himalayas is attributed to many great Ceras of the historical period. Fixing the age of any patron and his poet on the basis of any such references, as is often attempted when fixing the age of *Maṇimēkalai,* a Tamil epic, is no more than an imaginary flight.

To know these various quicksands in our historical excursions is itself a way to escape them and to arrive at the basic historical core in the traditions. The traditions, taken as a whole and shorn of all the imaginary dreams and divine miracles, may give us a general picture of the events of Tamil literary history. Within these limits one may accept the relative chronological succession of these facts as given by tradition, though it may not be possible to accept the metrical dating sometimes attempted there.

The mythological stories about a glorious literary past may be the relic of a race memory of an unbroken literary history. This may mean nothing more than the fact that Tamil has a very ancient literature. There is the tradition relating to the Caṅkam age according to which the three Caṅkams or Academies arose one after the other and moved

12. Cāmināta Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu, 2.

northwards to the new capitals of the Pandyas when the older capitals had been devoured by the Southern sea. The first was in the Southern Maturai where the first Academy of Tamil met under the presidency of Śiva. The second capital of the Pandyas which came after the destruction of Southern Maturai was Kapāṭapuram — a name which reminds us of the description of the capital of Pandya, as found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*;[13] it was here the second Caṅkam presided over by Agastya met. Lastly, once again after the destruction of Kapāṭapuram, arose the capital, modern Madurai on the banks of Vaikai; it was here the third Caṅkam was located.

The tradition may represent the ideal of a literary academy presiding over the development of the language when at a later time there arose the dream of a golden era of the past. Or it may be due to a feeling that the current language was not all that it should be. It may be also based on a tradition of councils like the Jain or Buddhist *Sangha*, which were also educational institutions. There is in the Caṅkam poetry the description of poets, bards, the musicians congregating, if we may use this word, during festivals in the country and in the courts of kings and chieftains.[14] There is also the description of *paṭṭimaṉṟam* or assembly of learned men in the ancient epics.[15] This tradition of a Caṅkam in all its details has become crystallised by the seventh century A.D. when the *Tēvāram* hymns speak of the Caṅkam poetry.[16]

To this golden period are assigned what are called the Caṅkam works. How many of these can be legitimately

13. Vālmīki, Rāmâyaṇa, Kiṣkinta, 42 : 13.
14. Cāminātā Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu, 2.
Pattu-p-pāṭṭu—Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai, 1-3.
Pattu-p-pāṭṭu—Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 48.
15. Cāttaṉār, Maṇimēkalai, 1:11. 60-61.
Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 5:1. 102.
16. Iḷamurukaṉ (Ed.), Tēvāramaṭaṅkaṉmuṟai, 7000.

assigned to the earliest part of this period is a different question; some may belong to a period succeeding it. Perhaps there are two strata, an earlier one and a later one. But within this limitation one can group them together as the earliest literature. This must belong certainly to a period prior to the seventh century A.D.

Next come the Vaiṣṇavite and Saivite traditions about the Vaiṣṇavite Āḻvārs and Saivite Nāyaṉmārs respectively. Here also the metrical dating found in the tradition need not be relied on; but the relative chronology of the saints may be accepted as more or less correct. The stories of the Vaiṣṇavite saints are narrated in a few books called *Guru Paramparās* 'Heritage of Saints'. The Saivite tradition is found in *Periyapurāṇam* and other *purāṇams* with more and more elaborations as the ages pass. These traditions are thus more or less valid for the Pallava period from the 7th to the 10th century.

Then begins the glorious period of the Colas and the period of the epics in the 10th century. There is the Jain tradition and also the historical evidence of the inscriptions about the patrons of poets like Oṭṭa-k-kūttar and Cēkkiḻār who have played an important part in the State.[17] This period continues with its later developments, perhaps as its own pale reflection, in an age of philosophical elaboration and systematisation. The interpretations of the hymns become a major activity of the age. There is a revival of the study of the ancient books. It is thus an age of commentaries.

17. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri, The Colas, Vol. II, Part 2 Appendix.
Patron of Oṭṭakkutaṟ (1) Vikkiramaṉ, p. 610; (2) Kulōttuṅkaṉ II, p. 633; (3) Rājarājaṉ II, p. 647.
Patron of Cēkkiḻār—Anapāyaṉ who is interpreted as Kūlōttuṅkaṉ II, p. 633.
Cēkkiḻār, S.I.I., Vol. V 59.
Inscriptions, 445/1912, 314/-1929, 39/1906, 218/1930.

The Tamil kings of the ancient lineage have all disappeared. In spite of all the interest shown by the Vijayanagar kingdom there is not that inspiration from within the Tamil country. There is the tradition and custom of patronising the poets by chieftains. There is the growth of the religious mutts in this period. Poets have to look more and more to the public at large. The folk-songs attract the attention of all kinds of poets in addition to the songs on the temples where also the folk-stories centre as the source material. There begins an age of literal translations from Sanskrit, distinct from the adaptations of an earlier age. Tamil culture travels to the Telugu and Kannada country. Religion, folk-songs and chieftains form the three aspects of the poetry of this age, when Tamil land has lost its freedom.

Then begins the period of the Western contact. Prose, simple prose, comes more and more into prominence because of the Christian missionaries' special concern for the child and the downtrodden. One has a series of attempts at translating the Bible and at expressing Christian philosophy in Tamil.[18] The Christians and Muslims try to identify themselves with Tamil and begin to write epics and other kinds of traditional poetry in Tamil itself, so as to popularize their tenets and ideas.[19] There are the bards singing the stories of contemporary events of war and peace.[20]

For all these periods we have the tradition collected in a book called *Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai*[21] "the story of Tamil savants.' There have been in the 19th and 20th centuries attempts at collecting the occasional verses of many poets of

18. Murdoch, John, Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books.

19. Beschi, Tēmpāvaṇi.
Kirusṇa Piḷḷai H. A., Raṭcaṇya Yāttirīkam.
Umaṟu-p-pulavar, Cīṟā-p-purāṇam (etc.)

20. Tēciṅku Rājaṉ Katai.
Kaṭṭapommaṉ Katai.
Kāñcākip caṇṭai (etc.)

21. Kaṉakacuntaram Piḷḷai T. (Ed.), Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai.

Tamil land, still afloat among the people, and publishing them in book form in what is called *Taṉi-p-pāṭal tiraṭṭu* and *Taṉi-c-ceyyuṭ cintāmaṇi*[22] These are much more reliable than the anecdotes elaborated in an exaggerated way in the prose work *Viṉōtaraca Mañcari* of the last century,[23] and in the poetic work *Pulavarpurāṇam* '*purāṇam* of the poets', published in the early part of this century.[24]

This leads us to the modern period—the 20th century—in which we are living perhaps as participants and at the same time as onlookers, and therefore in spite of the wealth of material we are far too near the events to judge them aright.

This survey of the tradition has given us a rough division of the periods of Tamil literary history, namely:

1. The golden age of the Caṅkam poets and its continuation.
2. The Pallava period.
3. The Cola age and its continuation.
4. The age of foreign contact and the modern age.

In cultural history, there is no watertight compartment. There is always a time lag. The old and the new continue to live side by side. Therefore one must expect certain amount of overlapping; but this does not in any way falsify the division made for purpose of convenience of study.

Chronology. II. Other Criteria

So much for the relative chronology. So far the main emphasis has been on the tradition which is the main source of our history. But there is the literature itself. There is therefore internal evidence available, wherein there are very

22. (a) Cuppiramaṇiya Piḷḷai K. (Ed.), Taṉi-p-pāṭal Tiraṭṭu.
(b) Kantacāmik-Kavirāyar (Ed.), Taṉi-c-ceyyuḷ Cintāmaṇi.
23. Vēṇukōpāla-p-piḷḷai M. V. (Ed.), Vinōtaracamañcari.
24. Taṇṭapāṇicuvāmikaḷ, Pulavar Purāṇam (3rd Edn.).

important references to the patrons.[25] Sometimes these poets or their contemporaries mention the date of the composition of the works; dates are mentioned in the Śaka era.

Here also various doubts arise, doubts about the correct reading and doubts about their authenticity. There is a verse which gives the Śaka year 807, that is 895 A.D., as the year in which Kampaṉ is said to have composed his epic, the *Rāmāyaṇam*. There is another verse which is interpreted as referring to 1107 of the Śaka era, that is 1195 A.D., for Kampaṉ. Again somebody who had read this poem giving 807 Śaka year for Kampaṉ, composed a verse giving Śaka year 707 for the composition of the Saivite epic *Kantapurāṇam* by Kacciyappar. This is exactly one hundred years before Kampaṉ. Whoever wrote the verse probably wanted to antedate Kacciyappar. One may not accept his date perhaps even otherwise on the basis of the style of *Kantapurāṇam*. *Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai* actually mentions one *Kantapurāṇam* Kacciyappar of the early 17th century.[26]

There may not be much difficulty, however, about the dates mentioned in relation to the composition of the later poems of the decadent age. There are clear cases of metrical dating. Actually the late Cuntaram Piḷḷai, the historian, philosopher and poet of the modern Tamil revival, at the end of the last century has started with the date mentioned by a Tamil philosopher-poet, Umāpaticivam, in the latter's work as the date of a contemporary philosophic debate viz. 1313 A.D. This was taken by Cuntaram Piḷḷai as the first milestone in the history of Tamil literature.[27] From this point of view, we have more milestones available.

Apart from these pieces of internal evidence as to metrical dating there is other such evidence which helps to date any event because of its synchronism with a dated event.

25. Kampaṉ, Caṭaiyappa Vaḷḷal, 6 : 38 : 38 (for instance).
26. Kaṇakacuntaram Pillai T (Ed.), Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai, 242.
27. Tamil Antiquary, Vol. I,

There is the Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ-Gajabāhu synchronism referred to in *Cilappatikāram,* the earliest Tamil epic.[28] Whether one agrees that the epic is contemporary with the events narrated or not, this synchronism established by other evidences is the sheet anchor for the Caṅkam chronology. The Caṅkam age then must have continued upto the end of the second half of the 2nd century A.D. when Gajabāhu ruled over Ceylon.

The Greek and Roman Trade which is so well attested by Caṅkam poetry could not have continued after the 2nd century, as shown by Warmington.[29] The Arecamedu excavations near Pondicherry, the erstwhile French settlement in South India, point to an old Roman settlement, proving that the *Yavaṉa* settlements referred to in *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* of the Caṅkam age[30] are not a figment of an imagination. The Roman bottle found there could be dated because of the initials of its manufacturer, so well known to students of Roman history, and this will take us to the 1st century of the Christian era.

One has such evidence for thē other periods as well. The reigns of Pallava, Cola and Vijayanagar rulers are more or less well fixed, thanks to the inscriptions, copper plates and foreign references. For instance, Appar, a contemporary of Mahēndra Varma Pallava, whether the First or the Second, cannot be later than the 7th century.[31] Ciṟu-t-toṇṭar, a general, is the conqueror of Vātāpi, according to the tradition of Narasimhavarma Pallava of the 7th century and is a contemporary of the Saint Tiruñāṉacampantar who mentions the former by name[32] and who therefore cannot be later than the 7th century, for we know that Vātāpi was conquered about 642 A.D.[33] In this way one can easily fix thē dates of many

28. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 30 : 160-163.
29. Warmington, 'The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India', Tamil Culture, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 286-295.
30. Cāmināta Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Patiṟṟu-p-pattu, Patikam, 2.
31. Gōpālaṉ, History of the Pallavas of Kāñci, p. 88, 103.
32. Iḷamurukaṉ (Ed.), Tēvāramaṭaṅkaṉmuṟai, 665.
33. Gōpālaṉ, History of the Pallavas of Kañci, pp. 98-99,

poets like Amitacākarar, Puttamittirar, Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, Oṭṭa-k-kūttar, Cēkkiḻār, Kāḷamēkam, Aruṇakiriyār, Maṇṭalapuruṭar and most of the others.

Certain astronomical data are available in some literary works, helping one to fix their age. But one has to be on one's guard. The poet may not always be an astrologer, and his materials therefore are not always reliable. That is why we find the late Swāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, who was a pioneer in this kind of research, altering the references so as to make some sense.[34] But one may legitimately ask whether one is entitled to take such liberties. Often the poet may bring together all auspicious combinations or all unauspicious combinations. One has the example of Rama's nativity with reference to which all auspicious combinations of planets however impossible have been imagined.[35] With reference to the fall of Maturai in the Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram,* as Dr. S. Kriṣṇaswāmi Aiyaṅkār has told us,[36] all unauspicious combinations have been brought together. This however is not to minimise the importance of this kind of approach but only to warn against the dangers. It is through this approach that the dates of the Cola and other kings have been fixed. It is again this approach which has yielded the date for our poetess and saint, Āṇṭāḷ in the 8th century.[37]

Everyone of these approaches can be criticised as being inconclusive, taken by itself. If one takes for instance the literary tradition alone, one would be tempted to conclude that *Tēvāram* was never composed and sung. There seems to have been a kind of black-out with reference to such kinds of literary innovations appealing to a wider public and introducing more and more of colloquial rhythm. The inscriptions however from the 9th century onwards make it clear

34. Indian Ephemeries, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 98-109.
35. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam, 1 : 5 : 92.
36. Kriṣṇaswāmi Aiyaṅkār, Dr., S., Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture, Vol. II, p. 647.
37. Rākava Aiyaṅkār, Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai, pp. 78-80.

how *Tēvāram* has become widespread in temple worship and society.[38] The evidence of the inscriptions is, even otherwise, important for explaining the history of Tamil literature.

It appears therefore that the cumulative value of all these various sources of our study, by reciprocal action and reaction, by mutual checking and rechecking, is much more than might be supposed. These pieces of circumstantial evidence, when they agree, amount almost to a certainty.

All this shows that we have only a blurred picture and the general outline attempted in this course is the most that can be justified at the present time. One is still in the pioneering stage. These statements and reservations will not be repeated, hereafter, at every stage; but they have to be kept in mind. This should not create a pessimistic impression that nothing definite can be asserted. Once again one has to state that this is not something peculiar to the history of Tamil literature. This reservation is, however, made only to show that future research may alter details, though it is certain the outline will be as it appears today, especially in view of the cumulative value of the circumstantial evidence.

38. S.I.I., Vol. III, 43, 139, 151a.
Inscriptions, 41/1891, 423/1908, 624/1909.

2. CAṄKAM POETRY

The Cankam Age

There are references in Caṅkam literature to the *Yavaṉas* or the Greek and Roman traders and their settlements in Tamil land. One such settlement has been excavated at Arecamedu near Pondicherry. Some of the objects like the bottles manufactured at Rome are assigned to the 1st century A.D.[1] As the Roman trade with the East more or less ceased by the 3rd century, this Caṅkam literature may be assigned to the first three centuries of the Christian era. The tradition about Caṅkam poetry is as old as the 7th century A.D., when *Tēvāram* poets refer to it as connected with Śiva.[2] It may be that some later poetry was incorporated in the collections of Caṅkam verses which have come down to us.

Tolkappiyam

Tolkāppiyam, which may be assigned to the pre-Christian era, is the earliest work now available in Tamil. It is a book on grammar and poetics. It consists perhaps of many layers, some of which may be later day developments. As far as its poetic tradition is concerned, it contemplates a literature like that of the Caṅkam verses. It also gives a picture of an earlier literature. It speaks generally of literary compositions including the *sūtras. Ceyyuḷ* (from the root *cey* 'to do' or 'to compose') means a literary composition. There are two important kinds of composition: one which is governed by restrictions about the lines and metres of the verses and the other which is not governed.[3] *Sūtras,* prose compositions, puzzles or riddles, proverbs, magical charms or formulae, fables, indirect statements and imaginative statements like

1. Wheeler, Ancient India, Vol. II, pp. 17-124.
2. Iḷamurukaṉ, (Ed.), Tēvāramaṭaṅkaṉmuṟai, 7,000.
3. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 1420, 1421.

some of the folk-stories come under the second category. Prayers, direct and indirect satires, humorous hits, expressions of humility to the learned assembly and advice to others are referred to under the first category. These are mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* as eight types of literary composition.[4] Of these, two are important: one in the literary dialect and the other in the colloquial dialect. Again amongst the eight there were compositions on old subjects, some intermixed with prose and some not, as against compositions on new subjects. The others relate to the occurrence of certain sounds—nasals, vowels, long vowels etc. It is not possible to be more definite about these literary compositions.

Cankam Anthologies—Enumeration and Classification

Caṅkam literature, according to tradition, consists of the compositions of the third Caṅkam. There is a controversy about the works to be included under this head. All are, however, agreed that *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* and *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* should be included here; though even here some will claim there is an earlier stratum and a later stratum. But, since our attempt is only to give an outline, these detailed distinctions need not be gone into.

Eṭṭu-t-tokai consists of eight anthologies. *Tokai* means an anthology. *Kali* is a kind of sonnet in that it has an introductory part, a concluding part and the body where the central idea is elaborated; but *kali* can extend to many lines. One hundred and fifty *kali* verses have been collected together as one anthology called *Kali-t-tokai*. *Paripāṭal* is another kind of song very much like this *kali* but it is much more elaborate and a musical composition. Seventy of these verses have been collected together; of these only twenty-two are now extant. This anthology is called *Paripāṭal*. These two anthologies have been collected on the basis of the kind of metre the verses follow. The rest are in *akaval* and sometimes in *vañci* metre.

4. *Ibid.*, 1335, 1336.

There is a further distinction between *akam* poetry and *puṟam* poetry —a distinction which will presently be discussed *Kali-t-tokai* is *akam* poetry; but *Paripāṭal* consists of both. Amongst the remaining six anthologies two belong to the *puṟam* division. One is *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu*. It consists of 'ten tens', that is to say ten groups of ten poems, each ten having been sung by a poet or poetess in praise of one or another of the ten Cera kings, the rulers of the old Kerala. This anthology is unique as being in praise of the Ceras. The rest of the *puṟam* verses, numbering four hundred, form what is called *Puṟanāṉūṟu*.

The other four are anthologies of *akam* verses. Already it has been seen that the basis of collection was in some cases the number of verses collected. There is one series of short verses consisting of five groups of 100 verses (*Aiṅ-kuṟu nūṟu*).

In *akam* poetry, there is a five-fold distinction. One part is *kuṟiñci*, the mountainous region considered appropriate for pre-marital love. The second is *mullai*, the pastoral region which is the setting for the idyllic home life of chastity and peace. The third is *pālai*, desert region, enhancing the feeling of desolation in the poetry of love in separation. The fourth is *neytal*, the coastal region or the seaboard, enhancing the feeling of despair, when in the course of pre-marital love there is an inexplicable continued absence of the hero. The fifth is *marutam;* this agricultural tract of civilised life full of wealth and pomp characterised by the institution of public women gives rise sometimes to suspicion and sometimes to escapades into extra-marital relationship, and this enhances the heroine's sulky mood. In all these five cases the word used for the region is also used to refer to the type of love for which it is the setting.

Aiṅ-kuṟu nūṟu owes its name to the fact that it is divided into five groups of 100 short verses, each group being concerned with one of the five divisions mentioned above. Each hundred is divided into ten or *pattu*. This arrangement

or grouping into tens was noticed with reference to *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu*. The tradition of tens continues all through the history of the Tamil literature up to modern times: in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, in the poems of Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs and various *patikams* and *pattus* of even modern literature. The tens in this anthology are named after the word or line repeated in every one of the ten verses. Some of them are named after the crow, the peacock, the monkey, the crab, the mountaineer, the bard[5], etc. These poems with recurring lines, phrases, or ideas remind us of the folk-songs. Perhaps the poets used the folk-song motif for writing the *akam* verses. *Kuṟu* means short and this anthology therefore takes into consideration the number of lines in a verse.

The number of the lines in a poem also forms the basis of the remaining three *akam* collections. 400 verses which contain eight lines or less are collected together as *Kuṟuntokai* or the short anthology. 400 verses which contain nine to twelve lines each are collected as *Naṟṟiṇai*. 400 verses which contain 13 to 31 lines each are collected as the long anthology, viz. *Neṭuntokai* or *Akanāṉūṟu*.

The name *Naṟṟiṇai* for the medium anthology is important. *Tiṇai* may mean the five-fold division. *Nal* means 'great' or 'good'. Here probably it means the latter, the good. This conception of the good as that which does not go to either of the two extremes—in any aspect of life—as emphasizing temperance in general, reminds us of Aristotle's conception of the good.[6] In Caṅkam literature there is a reference to the Ionian contact with the Tamils—to their artistic chains, lamps and wines brought from the West. *Ōrai* 'hour' and *mattikai* 'whip' have probably come into Tamil through these Ionians, who sometimes, as already stated, had their own settlements—*Yavaṉarirukkai*—perhaps like the one revealed at Arecamedu excavations. The advice given to the great

5. Cāminata Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, 17, 30, 28, 3, 26, 48. (These are the numbers of the tens).

6. Aristotle, Nicomachiam—Ethics.

Pandya king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ by his great poet Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār, emphasizing the fleeting nature of the fame and victory, and of pleasure and greatness, whilst at the same time singing of his victory, glories and pleasures and closing with a prayer for their continuance,[7] can only be understood, without contradiction, in terms of the conception of the good as the via media. Perhaps this may help us to understand the poetic descriptions of the ideal life of the ancient Tamilians as against the later ideals of asceticism. The similarity between what may be called the engines of war on the fortress of Maturai as described in *Cilappatikāram* and the contrivances of war which Archimedes invented has been noted by some recent authors.[8]

The anthologies have thus been arranged on the basis of metre, on the basis of subject matter or on the basis of the different dimensions of the verses. To be distinguished from these eight anthologies so far described is the *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*. This is also an anthology of 10 verses which are larger than 100 lines each. Here again the basis is the dimension of the verse. Though one starts with eight anthologies and *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*, one thus ends really with nine anthologies.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
Eṭṭu-t-tokai

The first characteristic feature of all these verses is that they do not form a continuous narrative. They look like isolated or occasional verses each independent of the other. There is reason to believe that the great Sanskrit rhetorician Daṇḍiṉ who lived in Tamil land in the Pallava court of Rājasimha I at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. has taken notice of this. He divides literary composition into two main classes: [i] narratives (*toṭarnilai* as translated into Tamil);

7. Cāminātа Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Pattu-p-pāṭṭu Maturai-k-kāñci, 753-782.
8. Turai Araṅkaṉār, Dr. M. A., Caṅkakāla-c-ciṟappu-p-peyarkaḷ, pp. 399-404.

[ii] anthologies (*tokainilai* or *kōṣa*); some of his commentators, for the latter, refer to the Dravida or Tamil anthologies.[9] Even in later times the tradition of *taṉi-p-pāṭṭu*, 'isolated or occasional verse', is of some force and vitality in the Tamil land. It is to be noted that the dances described in the Caṅkam Age or rather in *Cilappatikāram*, represent only isolated poses rather than a connected story or an event. This is probably the reason why we do not have any drama or epic in that age, at least in learned literature, though it is not possible to say anything about the folk-songs or folk stories of those times. This suggests that the ancient epic *Cilappatikāram* must belong to a later period, at least to the very end of the Caṅkam age.

This absence of drama however emphasizes another characteristic of Caṅkam poetry. These verses are all dramatic monologues. The poets thus create an objectivity even when expressing subjective feelings and ideas. One has to know who is the speaker, to whom the words are spoken and under what circumstances or in what context; whether the statement relates to a dream or to a past or to a future or to the present. Naturally conventions arise with reference to these various points. Without some elucidation it is not always easy to interpret them, especially when the poets aim at expressing themselves in as few words as possible. *Tolkāppiyam* codifies and explains these conventions.

Concentration is the third characteristic feature of these poems. Here comes the importance of the dimension of verses which form the basis of certain anthological collections already referred to. The poets have been trying successfully to catch the lightning flash of the poetic moment and enshrine it in their verse with all its vividness and force, emotion and experience. The shorter verses are significant as revealing the glories of this art. Often this poetic moment as the very heart of the verse crystallises into a beautiful phrase or a simile.

9. Commentary on Taṇṭi alaṅkāram
S. 5. (Tamil); Sanskrit commentaries are in manuscript.

An example may be given. This may also make us familiar with the conventions of this poetry. A young man and a young woman meet for the first time, providentially, and become inseparable lovers at the very first sight. He has however to go home, and this idea of separation, though only till the next day, gives rise to a conflicting thoughts in the mind of the lady love. The lover, to reassure her, points out that this love is not a matter of their choice; for this had not been designed by them. Nor is it one effected by their parents; for even their respective parents are strangers to each other. Therefore the divine force of love which brought them together is not going to separate them. Here comes a significant simile. The explanation is ours but according to tradition. The clouds from a distant place come and rain in a field of red soil unknown to it, moved only by the force of Nature. The hard cracking soil at once becomes soft almost melting in water. The colourless water now takes the colour and taste of the soil and becomes one with it.[10] Here is a glorious example of give and take, of life and of commingling love. No more the separate existence! No more the isolation! No more the self-centred love! This is now an irrevocable fact of union of souls in love. *cempula-p-peyalnīr,* the water rained on the red soil of a field is a beautiful simile indeed.

The proper name of this poet has been forgotten. Those who have enjoyed this poetry have baptised him anew in the very fire of his poetic imagination and he is remembered till today only as Cempula-p-peyalnīrār, after the immortal simile he has created. There is another tradition of the Caṅkam age of calling the poets and verses after the phrases which form, as it were, the heart of their poems. Recently an author claims that nearly 80 names of the Caṅkam poets are of this kind of striking phrase or word.[11]

10. Cāmināta Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Kuṟintokai, 40.

11. Turai Araṅkaṉār, Dr. M. A., Caṅka kāla-c-ciṟappu-p-peyarkaḷ, Intr., p. xiii.

This concentration or principle of economy in poetic composition may lead one to think of two kinds of progress—[i] starting from longer verses and progressing towards shorter and shorter verses [ii] starting from shorter verses and progressing towards longer and longer verses. Perhaps the longest verses were of later growth. But for the other verses, it was the varying attachment of the anthology makers to various dimensions that one should emphasise. The authors sometimes sing in verses of all dimensions. The anthologies were collected in varying periods, some in the Caṅkam Age itself and some perhaps in a later period, when there was added a prayer to each one of these anthologies except to *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* and *Paripāṭal* and perhaps also to *Kali-t-tokai,* all of which when collected together in a later age were so arranged as to have an old prayer in the self-same metre at their respective beginning itself as the first verse, instead of the prayer standing apart from the anthologies.

Thus far, the importance of the dimensions has been explained. There have been greater and greater elaborations to explain the poetic moment. The longer verses remind us of the modern technique of the stream of consciousness. This term is introduced only for the purpose of explanation to a modern audience. Again this will explain the convention. Here is an example. The hero is about to go on an errand. This has not as yet been revealed to the heroine. There is naturally a more positive expression of loving kindness in his speech and behaviour towards his lady love. This somehow reveals his unexpressed intention. The working of her mind is described by the hero to his own mind. There is no response, he tells his mind, to his calling her. Her face, formerly always in tune with his feelings as though expressing his heart, is now out of tune with him—showing a kind of opposition. She stands even in his very presence isolated as though he is not there. But the old habit makes her move, though very slowly towards him in response to his call. The inner tension makes her movement heavy and her feet seem to

make a deeper imprint on the ground. There is however the habitual smile on her face. But it is not a real smile; it is a false bloom from a void within. All this makes him read her thoughts even as one may read the idea behind an expressive painting. She senses his decision to cross the fruitless desert of pebbles abandoned all through the ages, where the pathways are full of stones, their piercing heads like blunted arrows, covering the slope of the mountain, heated by the rays of the sun, the slopes on which the crystal-like *nelli* fruits fall down in that jungle of the ancient soil and dried-up trees, reminding one of the dice thrown down. It is significant that this passage through the desert reminds her now, when he probably goes on an errand to amass wealth, of a game of dice. She seems to say in that context, "If you think of crossing this desert, let me not repeat the ancient statement so often asserted by you, that this separation is not the path of righteousness." She thinks of something else; she decides; she is in tears which hide the pupils of her eyes. She stands there as mother with her child on her side, with its crown beautifully adorned with a garland of sapphire-like blue lilies, brought fresh from the pure beautiful cool waters. She embraces the child and breathes in, smelling its crown, and breathes out hard and hot, the lily withers away losing all its beauty [it looks as though it is her last farewell to the child]. The hero tells then his heart, "I saw this and brushed aside forcibly all ideas of departure. If this damsel of shining bangles is such even whilst we are by her side, she will not survive if we were to depart from her."[12]

Basic conceptions: Akam and puṟam

Akam verses are love poems. Here one has to explain the basic conception of this poetry. *Akam* and *puṟam*, the interior and the exterior, are the two aspects of life like the two sides of a coin. *Akam* is love, the secret of life, the fundamental inner principle. *Akam* poetry is the poetry of

12. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār, N. M. (Ed.), Akanāṉūṟu, 5.

the noumenon, the poetry of the inner inspiration of love, something to be felt and realised but only to be hinted at to those who have had similar experience. The hero is no particular person; nowhere should his name be mentioned, according to the poetic convention.[13] Therefore *akam* expresses not something to be dated with reference to any particular person. It is something universal, common to all men, and thus seen and revealed in the ideal situations of a man. It is best revealed from the various situations of homely love, starting as a providential and natural pre-marital love. The five various aspects or developments of this love have already been stated, viz: *kuriñci,* the first union, *neytal,* the despair, *mullai,* the married love of peace, *pālai,* the separation and *marutam,* the sulky mood.

Puṟam is the outer aspect of this life of love. *Puṟam* poetry is the poetry of the phenomenon, the life of heroism, the life of self sacrifice, the life of munificience, the life of glory, the life of simplicity and also the tragedy of life from birth to death, all inspired by the basic principle of love. This can be described. The hero here can be imaginary or historical but completely individualised. It is true, it is still the human heart and human life that are described even here, but from the point of view of what can be expressed and described by the best of poets in terms of their vision. In *Puṟanāṉūṟu* we get kings and chaste women describing their ideals, poets advising the kings and their advice being followed with reverence.

"If I am not true to my words let my land be deprived of the presence of the poets", says a king.[14] There is the mother sending her child to the battle field and rushing to commit suicide there at the false rumour that her child has turned back from the battle only to find, to her joy, that he is lying dead on his back, slashed by the enemies' weapons.[15]

13. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 1,000.
14. Cāmināta Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu, 72.
15. *Ibid.,* 278.

There is also the desperate woman who finds her husband falling down dead in the silence of the forest of tigers, when the sun is just setting, and cries out, "I am afraid of crying aloud lest the tiger should come and carry you away and I am too weak to carry you". The next moment, forgetting that he is dead, she craves, "O, my beloved! Carry me on".[16]

Nature

Therefore the important featurē in Caṅkam poetry is its concern for the human life, its ideals, its joys and its sufferings. But no poetry can divorce itself from Nature. Nature comes here as the background and stage for this drama of human life. The human drama or story is the essence of Caṅkam poetry. It is called *uri-p-poruḷ*. The time-space continuum, so to say, is the basic background—it is *mutal poruḷ*. Nature has her regional geography—the five-fold divisions of the mountains, the desert, the pasture land, the seashore and the city. These change their colour and aspect in accordance with the time of the day and with the changing season. Each region has its idealised time of the day and its glorious season. This idealised aspect is best revealed by what is called *karu-p-poruḷ,* the concrete representation—birds, beasts, trees, flowers, cultivated fields, grains, men and women, their varying occupations, their games and dances, their feasts and festivals, their gods and worship, their songs and music, their musical instruments and peculiar tunes—all making Nature a living and concrete background for human life. Thus Nature in all its varied and varying aspects becomes important as giving us the clue for understanding the context of the monologues.

Nature in addition to being a clue, colours the life of man, that is, how the human beings feel at times in the presence of Nature. The droning noise of the sea appears like a mourning cry very much like her own to the desperate heroine

16. *Ibid.*, 255.

separated from her lover.[17] The sea seems to mourn in sympathy with her. Sometimes a jarring note is heard; an opposition or disregard is felt. The same heroine sometimes feels that the sea which goes on with its dance of waves remains cruelly unconcerned about her own sufferings.[18] All these moods are too well known in any poetry to need emphasis.

Nature comes in also to enrich the suggestive and symbolic nature of poetry. Description of Nature, as in any high poetry, stands as a symbol to reveal to us the inner meaning of the story, as seen by the poet in his vision. The rain water, showered on the red soil and ending in commingling, has thus become a symbol of deep significance and is used thus by the poet. The heroine, concerned that her lover has not yet come to her as promised by him, sees on the mountain of her lover the rich waterfalls, fertile fields and groves. In her description of this sight we hear the unexpressed shrieking cry of her desperate heart, "How falsity thrives in this world?"[19] But there is also another reverberation of the feeling of hope coming to the surface. The hero thus blessed by Providence can never be untrue to this love. This kind of suggestion, sometimes occurring in more than one hierarchic layer, is called *iṟaicci*.[20]

Nature plays another important part in this poetry as giving room for the free play of allegory. An allegory is also a suggestion, but it is like an algebraical formula where all terms are replaced by respective concrete numbers, at a later stage. Reference has been made to the heroine's sulky mood brought about by the hero's intimacy with public women. The heroine is too cultured to make any direct reference to this. She however hints at this in a description of the land of the hero; for instance, where a beautiful and proud

17. Murray & Co. (Ed.), Kalittokai, 129.
18. *Ibid.*, 123.
Cāminā̄ta Aiyar, U. V. (Ed.), Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, 141.
19. Murray & Co. (Ed.), Kalittokai, 41.
20. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 1175, 1176.

buffalo runs away from its own tank of lotus, full of nectar, to graze on a net-work of creepers in a slushy mire and on the tiny flowers fading away or just budding with no nectar.[21] In this allegory the buffalo is the hero, the tank his own family or house, the lotus the heroine, the nectar therein the bliss of her embrace, the slushy mire the hamlet of the prostitutes, the creepers the leaves, and the various tiny flowers the various prostitutes and their companions. It is a biting satire indeed. This kind of allegory is known as *uḷḷuṟai,* the hidden meaning.[22] Thus Nature comes to help the poet to achieve the concentration and economy he aims at.

Puṟam and *akam* are but two aspects of the same life. Therefore Nature colours also the *puṟam* poetry. The espionage and secret warfare starting with cattle-lifting called *veṭci,* like the *kuṟiñci* or pre-marital love already referred to, thrive within the hidden spots of the mountain. The military encampment during the invasion called *vañci* is well provided for only when the pastoral land, full of stream and water, is chosen, even as *mullai,* the peaceful homely life, demands the idyllic surroundings. As *marutam,* the sulky mood inspired by the public women, demands for its proper background a civilised urban life, the siege in war called *uḻiñai* occurs naturally with reference to a civilised city, often the capital of the king. The *neytal* or desperate cry of the heroine becomes one with the desolation of the great expanse of the sands and waters of the beach; and similarly *tumpai,* the pitched battle reveals all its cruel desolation on the sandy place. The glory or victory of life, called *vākai* consists of separation from all kinds of other attachments for the sake of attaining the ideal, as in *pālai,* the love in separation, where also the trials and successes of the hero end in amassing wealth or achieving victory, after passing through a desert, all along inspired by love and love alone.

21. This is only an illustration not occurring anywhere. But see Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Ed.), Akanāṉūṟu, 46, 56. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, Piṉṉattūr (Ed.), Naṟṟiṇai, 260.
22. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 993, 994.

Pattu-p-pāṭṭu

Greater and greater elaborations are attempted by our poets in singing the glories of the kings and chieftains. For instance, in *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* the artists and poets become the chief concern of the rulers and a cult of gifts is developed. There a 'thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. The jasmine creeper with its pure and fragrant pearl-like flowers is so beautiful to the eye of the chieftain Pāri, that he leaves his own chariot for that propless creeper to spread and flourish on. Another chieftain Pēkaṉ, charmed by the beauty of the dancing peacock, rushes with his own costly covering to protect that beauty from the rains and biting cold. From the plant world through the animal world, one passes on to the world of human art where another chieftain, Atikamāṉ, gives away a fruit said to prolong one's life to the poetess Avvai instead of enjoying it himself,[23] thus proclaiming that a poet's life of ideal beauty is worth more than a king's life. This is the tradition and the ideal of the Caṅkam age of the great patrons or *Vēḷir.*

In *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*, there are five *āṟṟu-p-paṭais* 'the poems of a guide' where an artist, having received presents at the hands of his patron, meets a miserably poor colleague of his on the way and directs him to the self-same patron. The way to the capital of the patron through his country is described, every part of it like the patron welcoming the artist. Nature itself becomes his reflection and is ever beautiful, peaceful and just, without any cruelty whatsoever. The five-fold geographical divisions are thus described to emphasis this philosophy of patronage. There comes at the end of it all, the description of the city, of the love of the patron, of the royal feast, the reverential welcome, the glorious presents and the final leave-taking. Because of all these descriptions, one of the *āṟṟu-p-paṭais*, for instance, reaches the length of 582 lines.[24]

23. Cāmināta Aiyar, U. V. (Ed.), Pattu-p-pāṭṭu—Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 99-103.
24. *Ibid.*, Malaipaṭukaṭām (Kūttarāṟṟuppaṭai).

There is the dramatic actor coming as the guide, friend and philosopher in one poem.[25] In another comes the musician with the seven-stringed harp.[26] In the third comes the musician with the fourteen-stringed harp.[27] In the fourth comes the dancer.[28] The last guides us all to the great God of Youth taking us through all the world, showing the vision of God on the top of every hill.[29]

If one leaves out these five *āṟṟup-p-paṭais,* the other five remain. One of these is *Maturai-k-kāñci* by the great poet Māṅkuṭimarutaṉ already referred to. The rest of the four deal with *kuṟiñci,* the poetry of pre-marital love, *mullai,* the poetry of idyllic love sharing the responsibilities of the world, *pālai* the song of separation in love, *neytal,* the song of despair in love. It is significant that *marutam,* the poetry of the sulky mood inspired by the institution of public women, is absent in *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* as a separate poem. The life of the city however has been described in *Maturai-k-kāñci* not in relation to this *akam* poetry, but with reference to the conception of moderation in this world of evanescent pleasure and glory.

In the other four, there is the bringing together of the *akam* and *puṟam* aspects to represent their unity in any family life. In *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* the encampment in the pastoral land, the happy return to the heroine along with the sharing of life's burden by the loving couple are all beautifully commingled into a harmonious life of love. In *Neṭunal-vāṭai,* the queen is thinking of the pitched battle which does not definitely end in her husband's favour, whilst the king goes about the battle field at dead of night, lovingly ministering to the suffering beasts and men of his army. This is probably the poem of *neytal* or despair.

25. *Ibid.,* Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai.
26. *Ibid.,* Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.
27. *Ibid.,* Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.
28. *Ibid.,* Malaipaṭukaṭām.
29. *Ibid.,* Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.

Paṭṭiṉa-p-pālai brings out the unifying aspect, the life of love in separation and the very life being the life of unique significance and victory or *vākai*. The poet describes the greatness, the pleasure, the wealth, the culture and the ideal of the city of the Cola, giving us a daily routine of the life of that city in 218 lines. It is one of the traditions of the Caṅkam age to compare the heroine to the culture and the artistic perfection of any well-known city. Having this in mind, the hero in this poem implicitly compares and contrasts the city to his lady-love; he makes his final decision and tells his mind, "Even if I get this beautiful city I shall not depart from her."[30] The city, the glory of the Cōḷa, is thus weighed and found wanting and dismissed in two lines. The hero continues to describe the unique glory of *Karikālaṉ*, his miraculous escape from his enemies, his glorious victory, the once beautiful and rich countries of his enemies becoming now an irreparable waste, his magical greatness of subjugating all, his restoration of peace and plenty, his building up a country of civilisation and culture, art and religion, his life in a humble family beautified by children—all that in 79 lines. Here are two aspects of his rule, the victory and the peace, symbolised by the piercing spear hurled at the enemies and the cool sceptre giving shade to all. The lover weighs the separation from his lady love and the resulting misery as against the cruel spear; the feeling of separation thus weighed is much more cruel to him. He weighs again the bliss of her soft embrace and the inspiration of the culture of love as against the inspiration of the sceptre, again to declare that the latter is nothing in comparison with that bliss of love.[31] Here is an art which describes at length one side, but so successfully that when it comes to emphasise the other side of the picture, it is not necessary to say anything more than a line, to assert by contrast, that the latter is nothing comparable to the former. It is like sending the ball forcibly against an opposing wall only to get it back victoriously without doing anything more.

30. *Ibid.*, Pattinappālai, 218-220.
31. *Ibid.*, 299-301.

Kuriñci-p-pāṭṭu is said to have been sung by the great poet Kapilar to explain to an Aryan king Yāḻ-p-pirama tattaṉ (Pirakattaṉ), the message of love in Tamil poetry. The word Tamil itself is often equated with this kind of poetry.[32] The righteous aspect of this pre-marital love, its ideal of self-sacrifice and joint service to humanity, the beauty of Nature inspiring this love, the varying and conflicting feelings of joy, anxiety, despair and happy resolve, all taking the form of one harmonious life, are all described in this poem. This Aryan king probably became a Tamil poet himself, for one finds a poem from his pen included in one of the anthologies.[33]

It has been stated that the poet successfully disappears as it were in the dramatic monologues. But when a poet writes a number of verses or a long verse of more than 100 lines, sometimes more than 600, his personality is bound to be revealed in spite of the fact that he excludes himself from the dramatic monologue. In this way we get a number of great poets clearly marked and individualised like Kapilar and Nakkīrar.

32. Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ, p. 5.
33. Cāminӑta Aiyar U. V. (Ed.), Kuṟuntokai, 184.

3. TWIN EPICS

In this lecture the study of the two earliest epics will be taken up and their development described. They are in the *akaval* metre so popular in Caṅkam age. These are two epics which are considered to be the earliest by many; there are a few who will bring these epics to the age of the Pallava supremacy. The two epics are *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*. The stories will be first summarised and then some remarks on the epics will follow. These two have become so connected with each other that a tradition has grown up making them "twin epics" almost having a contemporaneous origin.

CILAPPATIKARAM

Story

Tamil country was ruled by three different Kings. Its unity was thus not political but only the cultural unity of the people based on the language and literature. Therefore the story chosen by our poet, Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, is the story not of kings but of the son of a merchant and the daughter of another merchant. The happiness of their marriage is affected by another woman Mātavi coming as the lover of the hero. The three royal courts come as the background and the story moves from one part of the Tamil country to the other. The first part is called after the capital city of the Colas; the second part after the capital of the Pandyas; and the third after the capital of the Ceras.

The Cola Capital.

Marriage takes place in the first capital, Pukār, amidst pomp and festivity, between Kōvalaṉ, the hero and Kaṇṇaki, the heroine. The first song is the song of blessing showered on the couple by the elderly married women. "May your embrace be not weakened".[1] Thus runs the blessings as

1. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 1:60-62.

though suggesting to the reader the weakening of the embrace to happen in the story. This kind of dramatic irony is in plenty in this epic. The lovers live on happily; Kōvalaṉ grows poetic in describing his Kaṇṇaki; the heroine reciprocartes fully this love, but only through the silence of her modesty. But unfortunately this is not to continue. Mātavi's dance at the King's court makes her the greatest artist. Bewitched by the long sweep of her eyes Kōvalaṉ purchases the garland presented to her by the King. Her beauty and art make him her slave. He forgets Kaṇṇaki and lives almost a married life with Mātavi who is passionately attached to him. Here is a portrait of the chastity of a public woman. But her public performances and the loving eyes cast on her by the audience, provoke jealousy in him. Even after she has given birth to a child this suspicion clouds their life. At the end of a great national festival to which all throng from the Himalayas downwards to witness the wonders of the Cola city, one of these wonders being Mātavi's dance, Kōvalaṉ and Mātavi go to the beach of that city. Kōvalaṉ sings extempore musical compositions of *akam* poetry to the accompaniment of the harp or *yāḻ*, compositions consisting of the songs of a loving hero pining for the company of his lady-love. Mātavi with the wounded heart, mistakes this composition as giving expression to his love for another woman. What an atmosphere of suspicion! She sings another composition as though she is in love with another. Kōvalaṉ's erstwhile suspicions are aroused. Perhaps the loss of all his wealth in this life of pleasure, gives additional strength to this suspicion. He leaves Mātavi for good, though Mātavi refuses to believe that this is the final separation. Kaṇṇaki, to whom Kōvalaṉ rushes, welcomes him. She tells him that her precious pair of anklets is still there. He decides to trade in Maturai to become rich as of old. Both depart from the capital city before the day dawns. On their way to Maturai they are accompanied by a Jain nun who acts as a kind of critic to magnify for us all the details of the character and conduct of this couple.

The Pandya Capital.

They enter the Pandya country and now begins the 2nd canto of the story called *Maturai-k-kāṇṭam*. The praises of the glories of the Pandya which are full of dramatic irony for us are uttered by Kōvalaṉ himself. The travellers witness the dance of the hunters where they hear the prophecy of the greatness of Kaṇṇaki spreading out from the Koṅku country to the Cera country, to the whole of Tamil land and to the whole world.[2] A friend of Kōvalaṉ, one who knows the world of that age, is surprised to find the righteous Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki so changed. We are told Kōvalaṉ was so righteous that he once saved an old Brahmin from a rogue elephant which he valiantly controlled without spilling any blood; that he offered, moved by the cries of the mother, his own life to the punishing supernatural being in the place of her criminal of a son, and that he rushed to the help of the poor and forlorn woman. The poet in the earlier canto to build a temple for Mātavi in our hearts, has not narrated all these glories of Kōvalaṉ. Kōvalaṉ dreams of his fall whilst approaching Maturai. The nun, coming to know of this, entrusts Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ to the care of the innocent shepherdess of Maturai, emphasising to her the greatness of Kaṇṇaki whom the nun asserts to be the very divine form of chastity. Kōvalaṉ partakes in the shepherdess' hut of the simple and loving food prepared and served by Kaṇṇaki. For the first time they have occasion to unburden their hearts. Knowing, as he does, his ominous dream, he is all tears; but he moves swiftly away without her knowing it. The royal jeweller of Maturai has stolen the Queen's anklet; to him Fate drags Kōvalaṉ, who has come with a view to selling Kaṇṇaki's anklet. The villain sees the similarity between this anklet and the one he has stolen. Just at that moment, in the Royal court of Maturai, the Pandya king, forgetting the presence of his own Queen is much engrossed in the performance of a danseuse. The Queen full of suspicion rushes away from the court to her palace,

2. *Ibid.*, 12:46-50.

followed in haste by the Pandya who has now come to his senses. It is at the juncture that the wicked court jeweller informs the king of the discovery of the stolen anklet. In his haste, perhaps to please the Queen, the King instead of declaring "Bring him to be killed," utters the fatal words "Kill him and bring the jewels".[3] Even the executioners see that Kōvalaṉ is innocent in spite of all the machinations of the jeweller. But an intoxicated executioner kills Kōvalaṉ. This news spreads through the city; the shepherdess notices all kinds of ill omens and she celebrates the famous ritual dance of her clan. Kaṇṇaki is foreign to this state and now thought to be the widow of a thief, and therefore nobody speaks to her. She goes about crying in the streets. The sun alone replies: (perhaps it seems so to her) "No, your husband is not a robber-; the city will be burnt".[4] What a fateful suggestion! She meets her lord. The corpse comes to life to embrace her and departs asking her to stay. Probably taking that as a demand for justice she rushes to the Pandya King, the lord of pearls. Naturally the Queen's anklets contain the pearls. Kaṇṇaki breaks her anklet which has been considered the stolen property. The ruby jumping out of it proves the innocence of Kōvalaṉ. The righteous and penitent King drops down dead. The queen swoons and also dies. Kaṇṇaki tears off one of her breasts and throws it at the city of Maturai. The city is burnt. But the God of Fire receives instructions from the chaste Kaṇṇaki to spare the innocent cows, brahmins, chaste women and children. Kaṇṇaki however does not even get the pleasure of having wrecked vengeance to her heart's content and on her own accord. The patron Goddess of the city appears before her and tells that all that has happened had already been fore-ordained. Kaṇṇaki breaks away her bangles and leaves the city of Maturai. She is however taken away by a divine chariot by the messengers of Indra while standing fatigued and crest-fallen under a *vēṅkai* tree in the Koṅku country.

3. *Ibid.*, 16:153.
4. *Ibid.*, 18:50-53.

The Cera Capital.

Next begins the *Vañci-k-kāṇṭam* narrating the events in the Cera country. The mountaineers go and report the last miracle of her ascent to the Cera King. According to the advice given to the Cera King by his wife that they should worship Kaṇṇaki, he leads an expedition to the Himalayas for bringing the stone in which Kaṇṇaki's image has to be chiselled and immersed in the holy Ganges. The Northern Kings who have slighted the greatness of the Tamils are defeated and on their heads the image is brought. At the consecration of the temple the vision of Kaṇṇaki appears. She who was all rage at the Pandya, when we saw her lost, now calls him her father. This is the great spiritual perfection of universal love reached by womanhood. Even the kings from distant lands like Ceylon are there to worship her. Thus she becomes "gem of the world" as prophesied.

Characteristic Features

The anthological nature of the earliest Tamil poetry has already been emphasised. The birth of epic in such an atmosphere must have been rather difficult. It has however been noted that in the longer poems like *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu,* some kind of narration naturally comes. Again in *Kali-t-tokai* and *Paripāṭal,* the dialogue is found to develop into what may be called a dramatic scene. If a number of scenes could be described in these well known ways, the result may be a drama or rather a dramatic epic. It is this kind of development which probably has led to the first great epic in Tamil land. It consists of thirty long verses which can be described as monologues or folk-songs sung by any character in the story or by an outsider as his own monologue often quoting the dialogues he has known or witnessed. In this way the relationship of this epic to the dramatic monologues of the earlier period can be easily understood.

The separate monologues in *Cilappatikāram* do not directly tell us the story. The song of the *kuṉṟa-k-kuravai* dance can only imply that the mountaineers have seen Kaṇṇaki

being taken away by the angels at the end. The song of the dance of the shepherdesses can only imply in the midst of all the rituals of the dance that it is for driving out the evils of the ill omens that follow Kōvalaṉ's death. The song of Mātavi's first dance only tells at its end in a few lines that Kōvalaṉ, purchasing the garland presented to her by the King, comes to live with her. In addition to these implications and direct statements there are passages in poetic prose introduced in between the songs explaining their context and making the narrative continuous. The narrative aspect becomes much more pronounced and clear in the third canto of this epic. But even there one can still speak of the dramatic monologue. It is because of this that what Professor Basham observes becomes true about our poet. "He could afford to be irritatingly allusive and terse in important narrative passage and lingers lovingly over interesting description".[5]

Another important characteristic feature of this epic is the folk-song motif, used very extensively on important occasions. There are the songs of the sea-shore (*kāṉalvari*), the song and dance of the hunters (*vēṭṭuvavari*) the song and dance of the shepherds (*āycciyar kuravai*), the song and dance of the mountain lasses (*kuṉṟ-k-kuravai*), the song and the various kinds of folk-songs, such as the song of the swing (*ūcal*), the song of the ball (*kantukavari*), coming in the *vāḻttu-k-kātai* ("song of praise"). There are other parts like *tuṉpa mālai* where the heroine gives expression to her sorrow and desolation at the unjust slaughter of her husband.

It should be thus seen that music and dance play an important part in this epic. It is probably these aspects that give this work the name *nāṭaka-k-kāppiyam* or "dramatic epic". It is also called *muttamiḻ-k-kāppiyam* "the epic of the three-fold Tamil." The three great arts viz., music, the great artistic expression of emotion through the medium of sound, dance, the artistic expression of the harmonious move-

5. Basham, A. L., "The wonder that was India", p. 470.

ment of the body, an artistic expresion of action, poetry, the artistic expression of the inner vision, all these three as the finest expression of the human mind and personality, are conceived by the Tamilians as constituting the "three-fold Tamil". The third chapter, *araṅkēṟṟu kātai,* in singing the dance of Mātavi, gives us a picture of the stage and points out that the music, vocal and instrumental, and poetry were in harmony with Mātavi's dance. It is indeed a harmony so perfect that even the King, as the leader of the culture of the State, honours the young danseuse by visiting her first performance in his royal court and presenting her with a garland which fixed 1008 gold pieces as the price she can demand for it.

Here one has a society in which free women become embodiments of beauty and art, though this implies the evil institution of public women. The story brings out the tragic effects flowing from this kind of development, splitting womanhood itself into two unnatural divisions, of those who serve the cause of chastity and those who serve the cause of art. There is here a society grown rich through foreign trade and given to the pleasures of life, a society which makes the position of a man devoted to art suspicious if not immoral, because of this divorce of art from chastity. Fate, if one may apply this name to social conditions, has set the stage for this tragedy.

To be a perfect specimen of tragedy, the story must have ended with *Maturai-k-kāṇṭam.* But the tradition of a happy ending probably necessitates the *Vañci-k-kāṇṭam.* It is here we find Kaṇṇaki achieving the perfection of love. Here we are told that the nun fasts and dies. This nun who believed in mere negativism has been so thoroughly changed into a saint of love. It is here we are told of the death of the mothers of the hero and the heroine and also of Mātari, the shepherdess, and it is here we learn of the renunciation of fathers of the hero and heroine and above all of the renunciation of Mātavi and her only daughter. All these emphasise the spiritual greatness and glory of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki.

Pukār-k-kāṇṭam depicts the poetic sentiment of love, *Maturai-k-kāṇṭam* the tragic sentiment of *Śōka rasa,* and the *Vañci-k-kāṇṭam* the heroic sentiment of *Vīra rasa.*

Cilappatikāram is called after *cilampu,* the jewelled anklet. The anklets seem to be tragic in their import except when worn by the perfect or deified woman. The very possession by others spells disaster to them. The anklets are a symbol and a foreboding of tragedy. In the beginning Kaṇṇaki must have been wearing these anklets. Once her husband goes away to Mātavi, she no longer adorns herself and therefore the anklets too do not have the good fortune of adorning her. Kōvalaṉ comes back and, as already narrated, Kaṇṇaki offers him her anklets. These anklets, as it were, drive them to Maturai into the clutches of the court jeweller. After Kōvalaṉ is killed, the anklet comes to the Pandya court. The Pandya King and Queen die. The circle must be completed and so at the end of the story Kaṇṇaki is deified and adorned with these anklets.

The poet's heart is universal in its sympathy. This is emphasised by his reference to the various conflicting sects, where the reader feels the poet is becoming one with each of them. This is not a condescending toleration but a successful attempt at actually experiencing the various religions of his day.

There is another aspect of this epic which shows the universal love which inspires the author. In this story there is no portrait of a villain properly so called. The jeweller is not painted as one. He is greedy enough but perhaps a creature of temptations. Every character in the story is portrayed with a human sympathy that throws into relief their good aspects.

Pattiṉi Worship.

In the villages of Tamil land a female deity is worshipped especially in times of famine and epidemics. The deity is known by the name of *Māriyammaṉ* which means the lady of the rains. It is an old and persistent tradition in the Tamil

land that the chaste woman brings the rains[6] and it is therefore probable that *Māriyammaṉ* is the *Pattiṉi Deyo* worshipped in Ceylon. In the Tamil temples big anklets made of bronze are held in the hand and moved so that the sound of the rolling stones inside may keep time to the songs sung in praise of the deity. It is thus clear that there is an intimate connection between the symbol of the anklet and the story of Kaṇṇaki, the chaste woman. It is this fact that is brought out by the name of the epic *Cilappatikāram*. The cult of the chaste woman spreads even into Ceylon and *Pattiṉi Deyo* is worshipped even today.

Age of the epic

The story closes with a scene where the author's greatness is foretold by Kaṇṇaki herself and this is by some considered an interpolation.[7] The poem itself is assigned to the second century on the basis of this story, because this author appears as the younger brother of the ruling Cera to whose court Gajabāhu of Ceylon, of the second century A.D., came at the time of the consecration of Kaṇṇaki's temple. Professor *Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri* admits the Gajabāhu-Cera synchronism but feels the composition of the epic to be later.[8] Therefore he will place it in the fifth century. Attempts to place it later cannot be accepted. The epic we are told is based on an earlier popular tradition. A reference to a lady under the *Vēṅkai* tree with one breast lost is found in a Caṅkam anthology.[9] There are a few verses of four lines each at the end of some of the thirty long verses of this epic which are of great poetic charm and dramatic beauty and it is suggested

6. Iḷavaḷakaṉār (Ed.), Kalittokai, 16, 39.
Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tirukkuṟaḷ, 55.
7. This view is expressed on Tamil platforms.
Professor S. Vaiyāpuri-p-Piḷḷai however states that the author of Cilappatikāram to make the story of his believable as that of the contemporary event, poetically introduces this episode (See, his Ilakkiyamaṇimālai, p. 154).
8. Nīlakanta Cāstiri, A History of South India, p. 112.
9. Nārayaṇacāmi Aiyar, Piṉṉattūr, (Ed.), Naṟṟiṇai, 216.

they were part of an earlier version of this story.[10] There is also a poem referred to as having been composed by *pattiṉi* or Kaṇṇaki.[11]

Manimekalai

Relationship with Cilappatikāram

Cilappatikāram is said to form a Twin Epic with *Maṇimēkalai*. *Maṇimēkalai* is by a great poet, Cāttaṉār, often mistaken for a poet of the earlier period. Epic ceases to be, by now, a mere collection of monologues. Though it is sometimes claimed to be earlier than *Cilapptaikāram,* a careful reading shows that this epic could have meant nothing to an audience which was not familiar with *Cilappatikāram.*

The Story

The story starts with Mātavi speaking tearfully of the greatness of Kaṇṇaki and refusing not only to take part any more in the public dance but also to allow this to her daughter, Maṇimēkalai who has become a perfect danseuse. Maṇimēkalai over-hearing this conversation is overwhelmed by grief. The prince of the land given away to pleasure is incited by the mother of Mātavi, who believes that it is a sin to depart from the hereditary duty of her clan, to become passionately attached to Maṇimēkalai. Later we learn that the prince and Maṇimēkalai were husband and wife in a series of previous births.

Thus there is within and without her a struggle between her passion for the prince and her spiritual leanings, the first fanned by the grandmother, the prince and the general disposition of the society, the latter strengthened and developed by her mother, the angels and the great Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ, the saint of the epic. The prince pursues her but an angel magically removes her to a distant island to reveal to Maṇimēkalai her

10. This view is expressed on Tamil platforms.
11. Amitacākarar, Yāpparuṅkalam, Vol. I, p. 351.

birth and mission in life. From her guardian angel, after whom she is herself named, she attains certain magical powers. She comes to receive from a sacred pond on the anniversary of the Buddha's birth a magical bowl which, when once filled by a chaste woman, is ever full of food. The land is in the grip of a cruel famine and she goes everywhere to feed the poor, the criminal, the needy. The prison house becomes the House of *Dharma*. But afraid of the attentions of the prince, she takes the form of a well known woman of the day whose husband unfortunately comes and sees the prince pursuing her at the dead of night. This mistaken identity leads him to kill the prince. Maṇimēkalai rushes to fall on the prince and cry.

Fortunately she hears a divine voice advising her to bemoan no more. The queen puts her in a cell to die but because of her magical power she survives. The queen sends a villain to attack her modesty but Maṇimēkalai escapes by taking the form of a man. The queen repents and Maṇimēkalai goes about learning the tenets of the various religions of the day.

Learning of the misfortune which has to befall Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṉam, as the result of an erosion by the sea, Maṇimēkalai goes to worship at Kaṇṇaki's temple in the Cera Capital and then to Kāñci to help the famine-stricken people there. Her mother and Aṟavaṇa aṭikaḷ also come there. She sits at the feet of the Master and saint and performs *tapas*. Unfortunately the final portion of the epic is missing.

Characteristic Features

The story has a religious motive, the propagation of Buddhism. There are a number of allusions to Buddhist mythology and philosophy. The poet is also intolerant, bringing into contempt the followers of other religions especially the Jains. Here are brought together the various folk-stories prevalent among the Buddhists.

The discussions which Maṇimēkalai has with the followers of other sects give rise to a new development in Tamil

literature. The philosophical and religious debates are given epic grandeur and written in poetry. Often these are called epics. *Kuṇṭalakēci* is one such work included by traditions among the five major epics.

The verse form is really perfect and the greatness of the poet is visible everywhere. The author is full of humour, though a biting humour, against other religions. His similes are very expressive, as for instance when he compares the king and queen of the naked Nagas to a he-bear and a she-bear respectively.[12] He has in him the great teacher who can explain philosophy so as to appeal even to the most illiterate.

Age

There is a quotation in *Maṇimēkalai* from *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ*,[13] and therefore it has to be placed after the period of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. There is a chapter which seems to be a translation of Diṅnāga's work on logic.[14] It does not seem to be a part of the epic. The principles of Caṅkya philosophy and others, also seem to belong to an earlier age than the Cāṅkya Kārika and other books now available. This epic may be assigned to an age following *Cilappatikāram*, in the period preceding the Pallava Supremacy.

The Witness

A New Character in Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai

Kavunti and Māṭalaṉ in *Cilappatikāram* and Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ in *Maṇimēkalai*, are important characters in the structure of these two epics. The chorus plays an important part in Greek drama, as giving an expression of opinion on the action of the drama, even as it is taking place. Apart from this critical function, the chorus represents an agency which knows more than the actors. In *Cilappatikāram*, without the nun

12. Cāttaṉār, Maṇimēkalai, 16.68.
13. *Ibid.*, 22.59.
14. *Ibid.*, 27.

Kavunti who accompanies Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki on their way to Maturai, the author could not so effectively have created an ethically perfect portrait of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki.

Māṭalaṉ who narrates the previous achievements of Kōvalaṉ is equally important. But he is important from a different point of view. He knows almost all the characters as an elder, and outlives most of them. He knows more than any of the characters. He has travelled all over India. His sympathy, his piety, his life of pilgrimage, his power of beautiful expression (e.g. "the song of Mātavi crushes down the Northern kings"), his saintly advice, his communication with spiritual powers, and, above all, the reverence shown by all the characters including the spiritual power, Cāttaṉ, make it easy for us to believe that all turn to him for explaining the past, the present and the future, not of course like an astrologer, but as the man of great experience. He may be called a choric spectator (*sākṣin*) in the drama.

In *Maṇimēkalai* this kind of character comes in the form of Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ. He has a moral and saintly stature greater than that of Māṭalaṉ. He knows all the characters and their previous births as well personally. Like Māṭalaṉ he is there from the beginning to the end of the story with a suggestion that he lives thereafter as well. To him all come for an explanation of past, present and future. He is not merely worldly-wise like Māṭalaṉ; he is blessed with a spiritual vision and therefore foretells what is going to happen, but only when the listener has spiritually attuned to listen to that prophecy.

The introduction of this kind of character, who may be called the spectator, probably helps to infuse confidence in our mind and to effect economy in composition. His statement carries weight and what otherwise would require many scenes comes to be stated succinctly by him in a narrative speech.

4. THE ETHICAL LITERATURE

THE AGE OF THE ETHICAL WORKS

Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ

The rhythm of the language is slowly changing from *akaval* to *veṇpā*. The main feature of this development is the increasing frequency of longer words. Even *Paripāṭal* belongs to this *veṇpā* rhythm. This tendency has thus begun at the end of the Caṅkam age itself. But it becomes very predominant as we move from the 3rd century A.D. downwards. We have a collection of eighteen works called *Patiṉeṇ-kīḻ-k-kaṇakku*. All of them are in *veṇpā* metre. *Mutumoḻi-k-kāñci* is in *veṇṭuṟai*, which is merely another kind of *veṇpā* metre. The literature also becomes more concerned with ethics.

The author of *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ*, one of these eighteen works, is called Vaḷḷuvar or Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the prefix *Tiru* being added for all that is held sacred. *Vaḷḷuvars* today form a class of astrologers among the Harijans. But from the ancient epics, it is learnt that they were officers of state who published the royal proclamations.[1] Many anecdotes surround his name. His name is connected with Ēlēla, a Tamilian Ceylonese King. The Jains identify him with a disciple of one of their Saints, *Kuṇṭakuṇṭāccārya*.[2] Another tradition narrates how he brought about the fall of the proud Tamil Caṅkam.[3] He is claimed by almost all religions of India as one of their adherents. Dr. Pope hears echoes of the Sermon on the Mount and suggests that Tiruvaḷḷuvar might have heard the sermons of the Apostle St. Thomas who is said to have lived at

1. Koṅkuvēḷ, Peruṅkatai, 2:2:32-34.
2. Cakkarvarttināyaṉār, Tirukkuṟaḷ translation, Intr. p. IXVIII.
3. Mātava-c-Civañāṉa Yōki, Cōmēcar Mutumoḻi Veṇpā.
   Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvamikaḷ, Pulavar Purāṇam: Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carukkam: II.
   (See also Pārati, S. S., Tiruvaḷḷuvar.)

Santhome near Mylapore in Madras where there is a temple of Tiruvaḷḷuvar[4] and where according to one tradition Vaḷḷuvar lived as a weaver.[5] All this only emphasises the universal appeal of his book. The author evidently refuses to be labelled as a sectarian. That is the secret of the greatness of this book.

Some will hold that Vaḷḷuvar is anterior to the Caṅkam poets because certain phrases of his occur in these verses.[6] Others will argue that it was Tiruvaḷḷuvar who had borrowed these phrases and ideas.[7] It is also pointed out that certain later usages are found for the first time in *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ*, *Cilappatikāram* etc.[8] If an author prefers the colloquial terms, his language will differ from the established literary dialect. Perhaps this book should be placed at the end of the Caṅkam period if not later. This view is supported by the tradition already mentioned. *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* quote from this work.[9] *Manimēkalai* actually refers to him as '*poyyilpulavaṉ*' ("the poet of unfailing truth)".[10] One has to conclude that this book is earlier than these two epics. However we are dealing with this work after the "twin epics", for the simple reason that it forms one of the eighteen ethical works in *veṇpā* rhythm, which characterised the period starting somewhere in the 3rd century and continuing up to the 7th century, if not later.

It has been said that Vaḷḷuvar's couplets contain ideas found in *Kāmāndaka*, *Kāmasūtra*, Kautilya, Manu and Ayur-

4. Pope Dr. G. U., Tirukkuraḷ translation Intr.
5. Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvamikaḷ, Pulavar Purāṇam: Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carukkam: 6, 33.
6. Pārati, S. S., Tiruvaḷḷuvar, pp. 4, 6, 7, 8.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
8. Vaiyāpuri-p-Piḷḷai, S. Tamiḻ-c-cuṭarmaṇikaḷ, p. 70, Ilakkiyamaṇimālai, p. 137.
9. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 19:15, 16.
   Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tirukkuṟaḷ, 555.
   Ibid., 55.
   Cāttaṉār, Maṇimēkalai, 22:59-60.
10. Ibid., Maṇimēkalai, 22:61.

vedic works.[11] All these Sanskrit works in their present form are considered to be later than the third or fourth century A.D. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, therefore, according to this school of thought belongs to the fifth century or later. But some of the *slōkas* in these works might have been earlier, for as we now have them they are the final forms of a growing tradition. Even if it is granted that Vaḷḷuvar borrowed from some of them, it would not necessarily follow that he lived as late as the fifth century. In any case it is not clear why it is assumed that certain beautiful ideas could not have been gone from Tamil into Sanskrit especially when Sanskrit works of importance were written in South India. *Mahābhārata* is found in its maximum size only in South India. *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* is considered to have been a work of South India. It will be foolishness to attribute ignorance of Sanskrit and earlier Sanskrit works to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, but it is equally imprudent that all good ideas which are of universal provenance should be attributed to Sanskrit alone. Should one go to *Kāmasūtra* to explain the well-known tradition speard all over India, where one wishes another a longer life at the latter's sneezing? In assigning to Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ a period succeeding the Caṅkam age and preceding the period of *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*, we may not be far wrong.

Other works.

As for the other seventeen works in this group of eighteen, they probably belong to a period earlier than the seventh century. They represent more or less an atmosphere emphasising ethics and showing the influence of the Buddhists and the Jains. The worship of the four Gods, sometimes mentioned in the Caṅkam poetry, could not be brought down to the period of Hindu revival of the Pallava age. The worship of Tirimūrtti may characterise the Pallava period but not the period of its supremacy after Mahēndravarma I. The Sanskrit influence, including that of *smṛtis*, was felt in South-

11. Vaiyāpuri-p-Piḷḷai, S., Tamiḻ-c-cuṭarmaṇikaḷ, pp. 72-77.

ern India long before the period of Pallava Supremacy. Certain usages are often pointed out as being later, but for this no arguments have been given.[12] There are at times certain statements made on the basis of subjective impressions but they are not of much scientific value. Perhaps one will not be wrong in assigning them to an age before 650 A.D. It must be remembered that this group of works comes to be recognised as great in the *Yāpparuṅkala-k-kārikai* of the 10th century. An old commentary speaks of a *Kaḷavaḻi* as being in praise of Vijayālaya of the 9th century. Since *Kaḷavaḻi* is a generic name for a particular kind of literary composition, the one referred to here may well not be the *Kaḷavaḻi nāṟpatu* of the Eigteen. But even if we allow for some of the works in this group extending into the period of Pallava Supremacy, the tradition and the poetic diction as a whole, belong to a period earlier than the seventh century; for, by this time people looked back on them with love and reverence.

The period after the Caṅkam age and before the period of the Pallava Supremacy, is often considered the period of darkness in Tamil History, the period of Kalabhra interregnum. This is the period when the earlier line of kings seems to have suffered an eclipse because of others coming to rule the Tamil country. Pallavas entered Tamil land and established themselves at Kāñci.

There is a tradition about a foreign ruler coming to rule over Maturai. One hears also of Kaliaracar or Kalabhras becoming powerful, and of their ultimate-defeat by the Pallavas.

Buddhism was thriving in this period at Kāñci from where went Diṅnāga and Dammabāla to preside over the famous Nalanda University. Buddhavarma, a prince from there, went to preach Zen Buddhism in China and Japan.[13] The Buddhists of South India had written books in Pali, even

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-70.
13. Leydon, Toung Pao, XIII, pp. 471-472; XXII, pp. 253 ff. Nīlakaṇṭa Cāstiri, Foreign Notices of South India, p. 14.

now preserved in Ceylon. An important sect emphasising love arose in South India and this was responsible for the schism in the Buddhist monasteries of Anuradhapura in Ceylon. *Maṇimēkalai,* which refers to a Buddhistic contact with Ceylon, probably belongs to this age. Accuta, a patron of Buddhist learning, was ruling over Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṉam. The Jains however probably had Maturai as their centre.

Therefore this period was great for the glory of the two great ethical religions, Buddhism and Jainism. Courts and scholars were interested in writing in a language like Pali or Prakrit or Sanskrit which would carry their message to the learned world of that day. The Tamil scholars, in order to escape from the religious and philosophical conflicts, preferred to emphasise the common denominator of all religions and philosophies, by speaking of the ethical principles, true to the spirit of the times. This is not to deny that other religious sects were in the Tamil country. *Maṇimēkalai* itself proves that South India then was the seat of philosophical learning and religious sects.

Many of these compositions probably belong to Maturai. They are the works of Jains or of followers of other religions who were students of Jain masters. All of them emphasise the principle of *ahimsa* and the virtue of refusing to eat flesh. We have a teacher Mā-k-kāyaṉār of Maturai. His disciples are Kāri Ācāṉ, the author of *Ciṟupañcamūlam* and Kaṇimētāviyār, the author of *Ēlāti* and *Tiṇaimālai nūṟṟaimpatu.* The prefix *Kaṇi* suggests that Kaṇimētāvi was an astrologer.

The names of the poets sometimes remind us of the Caṅkam poets. One thing seems to be clear, that the tradition about the proper names has not yet changed in this age of *Patiṉeṇkīḻ-k-kaṇakku.* Names like Pūtaṉ, Cēntaṉ, Ātaṉ, Muḷḷi, Kāyaṉ, Kāri, Kaṇi, Kūṭalūr Kiḻār, Kapilar, Ācāṉ, all continue in this age. The tradition of placing the father's name first and then the son's name where the ending of the first word is changed[14] still continues, as is made clear by

TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES

14. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 350

the name Pūtañcēntaṉār. The tradition of prefixing *nal* or *na* to show that they are great also continues as is seen in the name Nallātaṉār. On the basis of the identity of names, one need not conclude that the authors of these works are the Caṅkam poets of the same name. The style, the general outlook and certain new usages that these authors came later than the older poets.

Kapilar of this group sings of the four Gods known to *Puṟam* poetry[15] Śiva, Viṣṇu, Balarāma and Subrahmaṇya. The authors of *Tirikaṭukam, Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭkai* and *Ācāra-k-kōvai* worship Viṣṇu. Pūtañcēntaṉār probably belongs to a tradition later than that of the Caṅkam age. He worships the Hindu Trinity Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma. Mūvātiyār, a perplexing name, is said to have composed the initial verse of a prayer to Ganapati. But the old commentary does not refer to this. Therefore this must be a later addition. It has to be noted that the worship of Vināyaka came with the Calukyas to the Tamil land in the 7th century.[16] *Nālaṭiyār*, at least in two verses,[17] refers to Muttaraiyar about whom we hear in the 7th century. Some argue that this is a title, though coming to denote a clan later, therefore, it may be earlier as generally referring to a powerful and rich patron. There are others who will hold that, even if these two verses are later, the others might belong to an earlier age, the anthology itself having been collected subsequently.

The Content of the Ethical Works

Tiru-k-kural

Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ consists of 1330 couplets. There are 130 chapters consisting of 10 couplets each. It is divided into three parts, these are *Aṟattu-p-pāl* or the part on *dharma* or

15. Kapilar, Iṉṉānāṟpatu.
16. Mīṉākṣicuntaraṉ, T. P., Piṟantatu Eppaṭiyō, p. 11.
17. T.I.S.S.B.P. Society (Ed.), Nālaṭiyār, 200, 306.

virtues, *Poruṭpāl* or the part on *artha* or government and society and *Kāmattu-p-pāl* or the part on *kāma* or love. It will be seen that there is no specific mention of *mōkṣa* or salvation. But the division on *dharma* or *aṟam* includes chapters which treat of final redemption or salvation. Therefore the word *aṟam* should be taken to mean virtue in all its aspects not excluding the seeking after salvation. Such a usage is found in Jain and Buddhist works and also in *Mahābhārata* which speaks of *mōkṣadharma*. This division into *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* is different from the division into *akam* and *puṟam*. *Akam* will include only the ideal love, and all other aspects of *kāma*, *artha* and *dharma* will come under *puṟam*. Vaḷḷuvar's *kāmam* is of the *akam* variety.

Kāmam.

The tradition of the Caṅkam age is still strong in *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ*. In the third part, *Kāmattu-p-pāl*, every couplet is a dramatic monologue of the *akam* variety. Concentration or economy is at its height. According to an ancient tradition it is said this part was divided into three sections, firstly speeches only by women, secondly only by men and thirdly by both men and women,[18] thus emphasising that these couplets are dramatic monologues.

According to another old tradition the 25 chapters of this part on love were divided according to the five-fold division of *akam* poetry, each division containing five chapters. This again shows that the Caṅkam tradition was still powerful.

According to this arrangement, *marutam*, the sulky mood of love is sung in the last five chapters. Here is a revolution introduced by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in *akam* poetry. He has condemned the institution of prostitution elsewhere[19] and it is not possible for him to introduce it here as inspiring the sulky mood. As is always the case with our poet, he understands the fundamental nature of this sulky mood in love and sings

18. Ibid., Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai, 27.
19. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tirukkuṟaḷ, 92.

from that basis. *Akam* poetry details the realistic character of the universal aspect of love in its relation between two human souls brought together by Providence and Nature. But this happy harmonious commingling of two minds till now living in different surroundings, with different attitudes to life, cannot be established in their daily action, in one day, in the outside world. There is here the struggle to become one through give-and-take in the course of inevitable misunderstandings in such an environment. But there is also the final revolution and realisation of the loving soul. This is *ūṭal* or *marutam*, the sulky mood followed by a loving embrace when the commingling is achieved. This emphasis on the loving embrace is Vaḷḷuvar's new conception of *marutam*. Even in the sulky mood the heart runs a successful race against the seeming reason. "I followed the path of the sulky mood, forgetting that my heart followed the path of embrace", says the heroine.[20] The hero reads her thoughts: "Her eyes expressed the sulky mood but hankering for the embrace more than me, she stood perplexed"[21] There is rapture at the very thought: "Delight at the mere seeing belongs not to wine, but only to love."[22] Because of this, a hero welcomes this kind of *ūṭal*. There is a whole chapter (*Pulavinuṇukkam*) where, because of this, the heroine purposely misinterprets the behaviour and remarks of the hero. It is a new picture of *marutam* poetry that we get in *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ*. Unfortunately the tradition was so strong that even here some commentators find reference to the old kind of *marutam*.

In India, there are works on the four goals of human life; *dharma* or virtue (called *aṟam* in Tamil), *artha* or government or society, *kāma* or love, and *mōkṣa* or salvation. The *Kāma Śāstras* or *sūtras* like that of Vātsyāyana deal with *kāma* or love from a scientific point of view, analysing all kinds of love, legal and illegal. But the *akam* poetry whose

20. *Ibid.*, 1284.
21. *Ibid.*, 1290.
22. *Ibid.*, 1281.

tradition our poet follows is concerned with the ideal love, free from egotism and nurtured by Providence and Nature. This ideal love is sometimes called *uḻuval aṉpu* as the love perfected in the course of a series of births. This is therefore a new way of dealing with love as against the other Indian traditions. No wonder that at the next stage this pure love is identified with the mystic divine love.

Poruḷ and Aṟam.

Just as the couplets in *Kāmattu-p-pāl* are dramatic monologues, the couplets in other parts could be explained as such. In the second part on *poruḷ*, in the chapter on military force we get a couplet as the speech of a soldier "Stand not facing my leader; many have stood only to stand as the stone"[23] referring to the tradition of setting up an image in stone of the warrior who dies on the battlefield. If every couplet could be thus visualised in its concrete dramatic situation, the couplets will gain in value and then the question may not be asked whether *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ* is really poetry. But it will be difficult to read all the couplets in this way. They may seem no more than ethical epigrams, but their poetic values should be realised for a correct appreciation of this great work as literature. In ordinary and often apparently meaningless happenings, the poet sees symbols full of deep ethical message. The accidental fall of a hair from our head so much curled and combed before, but now considered worse than dirt, symbolises the fall of any great man.[24] In this way the similes become symbols of a moral ideal. Apart from these there are couplets which have a poetic value by the very form of their statement. In poetry it is not so much what is said but how it is said that becomes its reality. Even when the simile is not a symbol of his vision, the author produces poetic effects. "The mean are verily the *Dēvas* because they act as they like."[25] "The mean are indeed like men."[26] We have not

23. *Ibid.*, 771.
24. *Ibid.*, 964.
25. *Ibid.*, 1073.
26. *Ibid.*, 1071.

elsewhere experienced this kind of similarity. Sometimes Vaḷḷuvar starts speaking of man in the honorofic singular but moral indignation drives him to speak of the criminal man in the singular implying condemnation. "However great he (honorific singular) be, what is the use if he without thought enters the house (wife) of another man".[27]

Schweitzer points out that *Kuṟaḷ* does not preach 'world and life negation'. With the knowledge that good must be done for its own sake, man must "realise that work and profit place him in a position only to do good to others" with a joy in such activities. Though emphasising an ethical inwardness and desiring an inner freedom from the world and a mind free from hatred, there appear in the *Kuṟaḷ* the living ethical love and the ideal of simple ethical humanity. In drawing this ideal, as Schweitzer points out, with sure strokes the author of *Kuṟaḷ* represents his vision and experience of the joy in the active life of love, and herein lies his greatness as a poet. Schweitzer has quoted his chosen couplets not only of moral grandeur but also of poetic excellence. He concludes, "There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom".[28]

In the first part of his *Kuṟaḷ* Tiruvaḷḷuvar gives us the gradual unfolding of the personality, moved by the inner principle of love. Man develops by sympathising if not identifying himself in ever expanding concentric circles, with his own wife, with his children, with his family, with his friends, with his village and with his country. Always in all cases he goes through an active life where this love takes the form of hospitality, of sweet and kind words, of grateful recognition of any little good or worth, of a resulting oblivion of all harms suffered, of equanimity and justice, of a well disciplined behaviour and of good conduct, of a heroism which does not submit to lust, of a victory over inexcusable inimical acts by sympathy and kindly action even towards enemies, of the escape from any

27. *Ibid.*, 144.
28. Schweitzer, Albert, Indian thought and its development, p. 199.

trait of jealousy and any hankering after unnecessary wealth, of a refusal to speak behind the backs of others and to indulge in vain talk, and of a righteous fear of wrong acts. When a man reaches this stage he becomes one with society. Without depending on any specific relationship he achieves universal sympathy, like the cloud raining down its treasures on unknown lands.[29] He knows that wealth is like the reservoir of water[30] which without being used by others, will evaporate or become foul. It is like the tree in the centre of the village, the fruits though part of the tree, are for the use of others.[31] Man becomes great by self-sacrifice like the medicinal plant, which allows the world to take and use it, root and branch.[32] Here arises real munificence, with its joy in helping others and welcoming death when such help becomes impossible.[33] Here is the miracle of dying for the moment, and yet living eternally in the minds of all by one's acts in whatever aspect of life it be. This is real fame according to Vaḷḷuvar.[34]

One who has reached this stage must have developed the feeling of universal love or *aruḷ*, a child of *anpu*, the love with which a man starts his life's journey. "Place yourself in the place of others", says Vaḷḷuvar to explain *aruḷ*. At this stage of human development, there is no longer the distinction between 'you' and 'I', the mine and the yours. The life of renunciation is really the renunciation of this duality. It is the full bloom of the personality without these restraints. *Tapas* consists here in putting up with all sufferings and proceeding to do good acts to help even the dumb beasts. Truth to such a man is the progressive driving out of all injury and misery, the expression of *arul*, not a mere precise statement of fact.[35] The mind becomes purified from all hatreds, from all

29. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tirukkuṛaḷ, 211.
30. *Ibid.*, 215.
31. *Ibid.*, 216.
32. *Ibid.*, 217.
33. *Ibid.*, 230.
34. *Ibid.*, 220, 235.
35. *Ibid.*, 291.

cravings, and then dawns real knowledge. Such a man of universal love and knowledge never slides back into the old life of narrow and conflicting desires.

Poruṭpāl, the second part of the book, gives us his vision of an ideal state. Unlike other *artha śāstras*, it is not a practical handbook of government. He goes to the basis of the social and governmental institutions — the very human nature which necessitates these organizations. For instance, if other *artha śāstras* discuss the nature of education required for princes, our author approaches it from the point of view of every human being. Except for education man is but an animal. Even the highly strategic and diplomatic relationships with foreign powers are discussed from the basic human aspect of friendship. Therefore though the author contemplates only a monarchy his book reads as one intended for modern democracies. His preference for abstract terms emphasises the universal aspects. Thus for 'King' he uses the word *iṟai*, which could be translated as 'Sovereignty'. In common with other *artha śāstras* of India, he mentions the *saptāṅgas* or the seven limbs of a state — 1. the King, 2. the army, 3. the finance, 4. the ministers of state, 5. the foreign allies, 6. the fortress and 7. the citizens. In Vaḷḷuvar's language, the Crown becomes the whole of the body politic of which the other six are mere limbs.[36] The King is in that sense the Lord.

According to one tradition the last thirteen chapters of this part deal with the citizens. The perfect citizen thus becomes the end and aim of the state. The citizen is almost a saint, whose perfection consists in returning good for evil. He will give up his life rather than his ideal. There is no poverty in that society of give and take; nor is there wealth running to waste. The citizen is really an incarnation of all good qualities. The author does mention the word fortification, but he believes that a contented peaceful state full of

36. *Ibid.*, 381.

the necessaries of life without evil factions, is the best fortification.[37] Perfect men make the perfect state.

As against many other *artha śāstras,* he is speaking of a dharmic state. It is not mainly the end which is justifiable on moral grounds, the means and every act of state should be inspired by moral ideals. Firm action (*viṉai-t-tiṭpam*) is applauded but that action is required to be morally pure (*viṉai-t-tūymai*). Prostitution, gambling, diseases, and drink are enumerated along with the foreign enemies, as the dangers of the state.[38]

Thus, though the work is made up of seemingly unconnected couplets, each complete in itself, the author is able to give an integrated picture of his experience and vision of the moral man and the ethical state. This work is full of suggestions, full of similies, full of the grandeur of the epigrammatic style, creating thus in a new way this poetic picture without our knowing that we are reading poetry.

Certain phrases are pointed out as having a Jain flavour. Even if this is admitted, the whole tenor of his book shows that he wants to emphasise the universal aspect of human life.

THE OTHER SEVENTEEN ETHICAL WORKS

Akam.

Apart from *Tiru-k-kuṟaḷ* there are 17 other works. Of these six belong to *akam* poetry. There are all defined by the number of their verses. *Kārnāṟpatu* is the "forty of the rainy season". This was sung by Maturai-k-kaṇṇaṉkūttaṉār. Its first poem refers to Tirumāl or Viṣṇu whose garland is compared to the rain-bow. This work deals with *mullai.* It is the poetry of the heroine expecting at the appointed time, the return of the hero. It describes through realistic similes

37. *Ibid.,* 739, 735.
38. *Ibid.,* atikāram, 92, 93, 94, 95.

the rainy season with its flowers, beautifying the pastoral land. But this poem, like other *akam* poems in this group, merely translates the beautiful ideas of the earlier Caṅkam poetry into the new idiom and rhythm of the age. Of the other five, *Kainnilai* consists of 60 verses, each of the five regions getting twelve verses. The author of this work is not known. Unfortunately many verses and lines are missing. In *Tiṇaimoḻi aimpatu* each region gets ten verses. *Aintiṇai aimpatu* is similar. *Aintiṇai-eḻupatu* has 14 verses for each of the regions. In *Tiṇaimālai nūṟṟaimpatu* each of the regions should get thirty; but the total number now found is 153, probably because of interpolations.

Aintiṇai aimpatu is said to have been composed by Puḷḷi māṟaṉ poṟaiyaṉ for restating the conception of ideal love. Reference has been already made to Tamil being equated with pre-marital love and it is stated here that those who do not read this work are "far removed from Tamil". *Tiṇaimālai* is praised by another poet as giving the message of pre-marital love so that those who hate this may not hate it any longer.[39] It will be thus seen that these books re-emphasise the Caṅkam message of love in an age when this message is not only not honoured but also slighted.

Such a kind of debate on the propriety of pre-marital love is heard even in *Paripāṭal* between the Tamils and the followers of Veda.[40] In this age this message of these verses is couched in such a way as to appeal to the learned. Probably because of the disturbed conditions, it is an age which desires to safeguard the chastity of women by not permitting their free movement on the street. This is emphasised even in the epic *Maṇimēkalai*.[41] It comes to be considered a great virtue to refrain from even looking at women. A hero tells the mother who comes in search of her daughter who has eloped with her lover that he has seen the young man whilst his

39. Kaṇimētāviyār, Tiṇaimālainūṟṟimpatu-pāyiram.
40. Cāminàta Aiyar, U. V. (Ed.), Paripāṭal, 9:2-26.
41. Cāttaṉār, Maṇimēkalai, 3:17-43.

wife has seen a young woman.[42] Thus the message of love is given according to the tradition of these changed morals.

Puṟam.

There are eleven works which deal with ethical principles. Of these *Nālaṭiyār* and *Paḻamoḻi* consist of 400 verses each. *Nālaṭi* means a verse of four lines. *Paḻamoḻi* means proverb. The author of *Paḻamoḻi* is the king of *Muṉṟuṟai*. He is a Jain. *Nalaṭi* is said to be a collection of verses by many Jains. The work opens with a song of prayer. This is interpreted as referring to Jīṉa. But the idea is elsewhere referred to as something peculiar to the Ājīvakas. Apart from these we have two poems of 40 verses each — *Iṉṉā nāṟpatu* and *Iṉiyavai nāṟpatu* and five works of 100 verses each — *Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭikai* by Viḷampi Nākaṉār, *Tirikaṭukam* by Nallātaṉāṟ, *Ācāra-k-kōvai* by Tiruvāyiṉmuḷḷiyār, *Cirupañcamūlam* by Kāri Ācāṉ and *Ēlāti* by Kaṇimētāviyār. Only eighty verses of this *Ēlāti* are extant. *Mutumoḻi-k-kāñci* consists of ten tens, each ten consisting of ten statements.

It will be seen that some of the names like *Tirikaṭukam*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam* and *Ēlāti* are really the names of medicines. The idea is that the three ingredients or the five ingredients or the six ingredients of the moral life emphasised in each of the verses in these three books respectively are like those medicines curing a patient of his sufferings, here not physical but moral. In *Tirikaṭukam* each verse brings together three characteristic features or three kinds of people or three moral epigrams; *Ciṟupañcamūlam* brings five and *Ēlāti* six such in each verse. *Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭikai* means a necklace of four kinds of precious stones and every verse here contains four ethical statements. *Innā nāṟpatu* states in every verse four characteristic features which are not sweet from the moral point of view. This is by Kapilar. *Iṉiyavai nāṟpatu* by Pūtañcēntaṉār follows the footsteps of Kapilar but states what is sweet. Except in a few verses he gives only three state-

42. Kaṇimētāviyār, Tiṇaimālainūṟṟaimpatu, 89.

ments in each. *Ācāra-k-kōvai* is a garland of good conduct. It lists the outward aspects of good behaviour emphasised in the *smṛtis*.

The *puṟam* works discussed above deal with *dharma*. One *puṟam* work among the Eighteen is exceptional in this respect. This poem, *Kaḷavaḻi nāṟpatu,* is a description of a battlefield and emphasises the ephemeral nature of the world in accordance with the main tradition of the age. The author is Poykaiyār. The battlefield is that of Kaḻumalam where the Cola king Kōccenkaṇāṉ defeated his enemies. It has to be pointed out that the poem speaks of the enemies in the plural except in one verse which specifically refers to the King of Vañci, namely a Cera.[43] The bloody battlefield, the beasts, the drum, the soldiers, are all described by appropriate similes. The poet sees sometimes humorous and startling situations in this horrible and revolting battlefield. Sometimes the wonder and the glory of victory are sung. His work often reminds us of the kind of humour which one meets with in the medieval English tragedies. The *paraṇi* literature of later times received its inspiration from this poem.

Aṟam and Kāmam—changes in their meaning

Words cluster together because of their meanings being connected and because of their suggestive secondary associations. Therefore one can speak of a semantic structure not only in the vocabulary system relating to colour and kinship but generally in the vocabulary relating to all fields of knowledge. When the ideas of the society change, the structure with reference to certain semantic fields also changes. This may be illustrated with relation to the correlation between *aṟam* and *kāmam*.

In the Caṅkam age the conception of honour colours the ideal of love at home and the ideal of heroism on the battlefield. *Aṟam* is a part of human nature—the expression of the

43. Poykaiyār, Kaḷavaḻināṟpatu, 39.

real Man. No hope of a future world as a prize is necessary; such a conception of winning a prize is rejected as a bemeaning profiteering motive. One poet exclaims, "The chieftain Āy is no trader in *aṟam*."[44] *Kāmam* is also something intrinsically great in this scheme of things bringing out the best in man and woman as complementaries in a united life.

This period is succeeded by the age where, because of Buddhism and Jainism, asceticism becomes the ideal. *Aṟavōr*, the people of *aṟam*, are equated with those who have renounced the world. Love or *kāmam* from which the ascetic escapes, naturally becomes "degraded": *iḻittiṭa-p-paṭṭataṉṟe*, sings Cintāmaṇi i.e. "it is condemned as mean."[45]

The pre-marital love which was the ideal of the Caṅkam age can no longer hold good. The undisturbed political conditions themselves encourage society to set its face against it. The older tradition does not die easily. There is vociferous opposition to the new ideas; there is ridiculing in *Paripātal*.[46] The *akam* verses in the ethical literature identify the older message with Tamil. Those who do not understand this message are not admitted as having any knowledge of Tamil.[47]

There follow two developments. One is that this old message is coloured by the fashions of the new age when it is not considered moral to look at the face of any women except one's own wife.[48] The other is that pre-martal love is interpreted only as mental. This development occurs when this tradition of pre-marital love is interpreted only as an imaginary ideal never realised in this world though accepted as the best in literature. This is what is happening in the commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Aka-p-poruḷ*, probably of the seventh century. The old tradition is also looked upon as a sugar-

44. Cāmināta Aiyar, U. V. (Ed.), Puṟnāṉūṟu, 134.
45. Tiruttakkatēvar, Cīvaka cintāmaṇi, 1:210.
46. Cāmināta Aiyar, U. V. (Ed.), Paripāṭal, 9:12.
47. *Ibid.*, 36.
48. *Ibid.*, 38.

coated pill to attract the worldly who are to be taken away from love to *tapas* and salvation.[49]

At this stage come the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs. No longer is *aṟam* a renunciation. Communion with God comes to be emphasised. Everything leading to this goal is *aṟam*. The Lord preaches this *aṟam* even to the saints who have renounced the world and who yet require therefore this esoteric teaching. Men and women can worship God in a higher communion. The divinity of womanhood and motherhood becomes clear. *Kāmam* therfore in relation to *aṟam* becomes elevated provided it is righteous and directed towards God, even if it be within the pure family life. The basic relationship between God and Soul comes to be explained in terms of this love. God himself becomes the purified Love—*Aṉpē Civam*.[50]

49. Iraiyaṉār, Iraiyaṉār Akapporuḷ Urai, p. 12.
50. Tirumūlar, Tirumantiram, 270.

5. ĀLVĀRS AND NĀYANMĀRS

Early Saints. [Before 600 A.D.]

SAIVITES

In this period of ethical literature begins the development of religious poetry. Apart from Buddhism and Jainism, other religious sects must have flourished in Tamil Land at this time. Appar, a *Tēvāram* poet mentions the *Kāpālikas, Pāsupatas, Mahāvradins* and *Saivites.*[1] The name of the Mylapore temple as referred to by Campantar is Kāpālīccuram,[2] perhaps a centre of the *Kāpālikas. Tēvāram* also mentions certain other temples known by the name of Kārōṇam,[3] evidently named after *Kārōṇam*, the birth place of *Lakulīsa*, the founder of the Pāsupata sect. *Tirumantiram*, one of the books of the Saivite canonical literature, is by Saint Tirumūlar and it is believed that he came from Kashmir. This book is probably the earliest known work referring to any *Tantra Āgama* and also calling itself one. Tirumūlar mentioned by Cuntarar of the age of Rājasimha, must be earlier.[4] It will thus be clear that some of the ascetic Śaivite sects coming from other lands with their varying philosophies have become popular in Tamil Land.

The older metres, such as *veṇpa, akaval, kali*, become longer and longer in this period. They are then called *viruttam.* This name is first applied to what is later on described as *kaṭṭaḷai-k-kalai-t-tuṟai*, which consists of lines of five feet The name *viruttam*, is later on used for denoting all such developments.

1. *Iḷamurukaṉār* (Ed.), Tēvāram aṭaṅkaṉmuṟāi (Appar) 4358.
2. *Ibid.*, (Campantar) 1971.
3. *Ibid.*, (Campantar) 904.
4. *Ibid.*, (Cuntarar) 7621.

Kāraikkālammaiyār

Kāraikkālammaiyār, who sings in *veṇpā* and *kaṭṭaḷai-k-kali-t-tuṟai*, is the earliest Śaivite poetess and is held in the highest estimation by saint Cuntarar[5] and others including the later philosophers. One of her works, *aṟputa-t-tiruvantāti*, consists of 100 *veṇpās* and is a sincere outpouring of her heart to God. She tells us that she has been uttering the name of the Lord from the time she began to speak.[6] To her, God is the universal principle and at the same time the very heart of her hearts.[7] She has been blessed with mystic experience. She calls herself a *pēy* or ghost.[8] Perhaps she belongs to a sect of mystics who behaved like ghosts and mad people, a way of avoiding the curiosity of others. True to this assumption of the title of ghost, she described the dance of the Lord at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, where Śiva surrounded by the ghosts on the burning pyre, the symbol of destruction, is said to have danced in competition with Kāḷi in a peculiar dancing posture putting one of his legs straight up to the skies. She beautifully describes the ghosts blessed with sympathetic and human hearts. For instance, in one verse the ghost, a mother, after nursing her child and putting it to sleep,[9] leaves the child, whom she calls after her Lady Kāḷi; the child, however, wakes up and cries for the mother. This poetess has composed two *patikams* or *tens* in this spirit.[10] *Patikams* have begun to become popular in this periods. These *patikams* are in *viruttam* metre.

Tirumūlar

Tirumūlar is a *Siddha* and a mystic. He has written in a kind of *viruttam* which comes to be called *Tiru-k-kuṟuntokai* in Appar's poem. His verses have the epigramatic simplicity

5. *Ibid.*, (Cuntarar) 7620.
6. Kāraikkālammaiyār, Aṟputattiruvantāti, 1.
7. *Ibid.*, 6, 9, 20, 21 etc.
8. *Ibid.*, 101.
9. Ibid., Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭumūtta tiruppatikam, 5.
10. Ibid., Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭumūttatiruppatikam and Mūtta tiruppatikam.

of the *veṇpā* and also the music of the *viruttam*. Often there is the same pattern of a sentence in every one of the lines or in every two lines. "'Love and God are two different entities' say the fools. Nobody knows that Love is God. If all know that love is God, all will remain as the very identity of Love and God."[11] So sings Tirumūlar. His message is, "Love is God". Love, and not God, is the subject of this sentence; Love is not an attribute predicated of God. Love is the only known reality. Proceeding from the known to the unknown, the purified love is given the other well known name, God of Philosophy and Religion. The book, according to tradition, must consist of 3000 verses; but there probably are more interpolations. There are references to *tantras* and *āgamas*, as already stated, and also to *mantras* and to *yōga*. There are references to *bhakti* in verses which move our heart very much like the *Tēvāram* coming later. Though he sings the glory of Śiva, Tirumūlar expressed surprise that people should fight amongst themselves about the three Gods who basically are all but one and the same.[12] In his poems he uses the mystic language of allegory though never the language of mystic eroticism. Sometimes his poems refer to mere numbers and they are difficult to interpret.[13] Elsewhere the style is simple. Every word is a thing of beauty in this work. All the verses are in the same metre, yet there is a variety in the rhythm, following the very rhythm of his ideas.

Tirumūlar is considered the greatest of *siddhas*, the father of the eclectic school of mysticism, famous for its principles of reformation. He asserts there is but one clan or caste.[14] He is against mortification of the body. "If the body is destroyed, the soul is destroyed. One cannot achieve firmly enough the true wisdom. I have learnt the method of nurturing the body. I have nurtured the body; I have

11. Tirumūlar, Tirumantiram, 270.
12. *Ibid.*, 52.
13. *Ibid.*, 2.
14. *Ibid.*, 2104.

nurtured the soul."[15] Though he is not against temple worship, he cares more for the temple within the heart. "The Mind is the sanctum sanctorum, the body of flesh is the outer temple; to the munificient Lord the mouth is the sacred entrance; to those who have clarity of vision, the soul is the Śivaliṅga, the misleading sensations are the five great crystal lights."[16]

Vaisnavites

Poykai, Pūtaṉ and Pēyār

Some of the early Āḻvārs probably belong to this early period. The first great Āḻvārs Poykai, Pūtaṉ and Pēyār sing in *veṇpā* metre. Each one of them has sung 100 verses like a garland of flowers. The ending of the first verse comes as the beginning of the second verse and so on till the ending of the last verse is the same as the beginning of the first verse. It is said that these three are contemporaries; they belong to the Pallava country. The first poet, Poykaiyāḻvār, starts singing of the universal God from the point of view of the phenomenon: "The world is the lamp-dish filled with ghee of the sea; the sun is its wick. God is the light of light."[17] The second Pūtattāḻvār, perhaps a contemporary of Kāraikkālammaiyār (we have a verse composed by a Pūtattār and herself quoted in a commentary[18]) begins singing not of the outer light but the inner light, the noumenon: "Love is the lamp-dish; pining for the Lord is the ghee therein; the blissful melting heart is the wick; I have lighted this lamp; God is the light of the lights."[19] Pēyāḻvār sees the lamp lighted by Pūtattāḻvār the light of lights, the great God of his heart.[20] There is tolerance in the poems of these early Āḻvārs; probably there were forms of images where one half

15. *Ibid.*, 724.
16. *Ibid.*, 1823.
17. Murray and Co (Ed.), Tivyaprapantam mutaltiruvantāti.
18. Amitacākarar, Yāpparuṅkalam, Vol. I, p. 352.
19. Murray and Co (Ed.), Tivyaprapantam iraṇṭām tiruvantāti, 1.
20. Ibid., Tivyaprapantam mūṉṟām tiruvantāti, 1.

was Śiva and the other half Viṣṇu.[21] The mythological stories are told with a grasp of their essential message. The verses are full of humour. The simplicity of the language has a ring of sincerity.

Tirumaḻicai Āḻvār

Tirumaḻicaiāḻvār is the fourth Āḻvār. He belongs to the Pallava village Tirumaḻicai near Madras. Professor Kuppuswami Sastri feels he is Drāmiḍācārya[22] referred to in the commentaries on Brahma sūtra. This Āḻvār was a great scholar referring often to philosophical conceptions in his poems. He sometimes weaves a poem out of a series of numbers.[23] Probably he belongs to the beginning period of the Pallava Supremacy. He is not as tolerant as the other three Āḻvārs. Apart from his *Veṇpā Antāti* he has composed *Tiruccantaviruttam* sung to the tune of four equal measures in a line where each foot consists of a long monosyllable, a disyllable and again a monosyllable. The work is full of rhythmic beauty, perhaps because of the new device thus introduced. Though the style is majestic and elevated, the ideas are crystal clear. The poem expresses the very rhythmic outburst of his heart, trained by his philosophy and religion, but shaped by love.

There is a story in the Vaiṣṇava tradition that Tirumaḻicai was the Śaivite Civavākkiyar before he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism. Civavākkiyar must be earlier than Paṭṭiṉattār, of the 10th century, who refers to him in his poem.[24] There are a number of stanzas which are found in this Āḻvār's poems and in Civavākkiyar's and it is probably this which is responsible for the story in the Vaiṣṇavite tradition. Perhaps in the verses which have come down to us as Civavākkiyar's there are interpolations which because of their style

21. *Ibid.*, Tivyaprapantam mutalāyiram, 5, 98.
22. Kuppucāmi cāstiri, Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, pp. 465.
23. Murray and Co (Ed.), Tivyaprapantam tiruccanta viruttam, 2.
24. Paṭṭinattār, Tiruviṭaimarutūr mummaṇi-k-kōvai, 11, 33.

should be assigned to a later age. Civavākkiyar is a great revolutionary. He has no patience with books and rituals, caste and other distinctions.[25] He believes in the unity of God. He believes that everything in this universe is nothing but God. He emphasises the change of heart that is necessary. Nobody without love can attain salvation. His verses are full of righteous indignation against all pretentions and sophistications. In the eclectic school of *siddhas* his name is revered and honoured. There is a scintillating brilliance in the free musical flow of his verses. There is a forceful clarity, shocking us sometimes by its forthright directness; he is not even afraid of using terms that prigs will call vulgar or obscene. Because of their violent attack upon orthodoxy, his poems have been left to the common man to preserve them as best he can.

Seventh Century — Śaivism

Conception of Bhakti

These are the morning stars before the dawn of the age of *bhakti*. *Bhakti*, as expressed in a beautiful poem, was born on the banks of the Tamil Land, grew into womanhood in the Mahrattha country and in the North India, to become old in Gujerat.[26] The *bhakti* of Tamil Land is not merely emotionalism. It is not even intellectual love for God; nor mere blind worship. It is a beautiful and harmonious expression of the three aspects of man: cognition, conation and feeling. It is the intense universal love which lights up all dark corners and proceeds to work and enjoy that work as service for others, in all of whom the full vision of God is revealed. The *bhakta* was therefore called *toṇṭaṉ*, one who serves or *aṭiyāṉ*, 'the slave of the Lord.' His is the life of complete self-surrender to the principle of this universe,

25. Rāmanātaṉ, Aru (Ed.), Civavākkiyār Pāṭal, 36, 33, 45

26. Krisṇasāmi Aiyaṅgar, Early History of Vaishnavism in South India, p. 10, Quoting from Patmapurāṇa.

allowing himself to be guided in the service of Man by its unfailing Love and Light.

The saint Cuntarar even after God-realisation, feels a void. To him is revealed, according to the tradition, the vision of the sixty-three saints of the Tamil Land, rich and poor, men and women, of all castes and clans, all living for an ideal of serving according to their capacity the God in man. Cuntarar in a sacred hymn enumerates with joy all these saints. The whole vision seems to us not parochial but national in the best sense of the term, emphasising the universal aspect as well. It is the beautiful vision of all such workers, *aṭiyārs* or *bhaktas* of the past, the present and the future, not of this country or that, not even belonging to this world or that, but belonging to the whole of this universe, the vision of a spiritual democracy of love and service before which saint Cuntarar bows down exclaiming, "I am their servant's servant"—appālum aṭi cārntār aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ."[27] A similar approach is seen among the Vaiṣṇavites. For instance, Periyāḻvār speaks of this clan as toṇṭa-k-kulam,[28] clan of divine servants knowing no other clan and relying upon nothing but God.

Both the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs see God in the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, space and in the Sun and the Moon, and above all, in the soul of every living being. This is the glorious message of saint Appar. Saint Tāyumāṉavar, coming nearly 1000 years later, exclaims, "When shall I learn this message of Appar."[29] Appar, it is said, went on a pilgrimage to Kailās, but was told by a divine voice that he would be blessed with that divine vision at Tiruvaiyāṟu on the banks of the river Kāvēri. We have his hymn describing the glorious vision of the so called Kailās where everything is revealed as the very form of God, God overflowing with the love and mercy of a mother and with the power

27. Iḻamurukaṉār (Ed.), Tēvāram Aṭaṅkaṉmuṟai (Cuntarar), 7626.
28. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Tivyaprapantam Tiruppallāṇṭu.
29. Tāyumāṉavar, eṉṉāṭkaṇṇi-aṭiyārvaṇakkam, 2.

and the knowledge of a father. Along with *bhaktas* Appar sings, "I came as of old to worship with flowers and water. I saw the he-elephant and the she-elephant coming as before, but lo! I see what I have not till now seen. I see therein the sacred feet of the Lord."[30] He goes on singing like this, seeing God as the Father and the Mother in every couple of birds and beasts of this world. No wonder love towards God takes the shape and form of servic, not only to men but to the dumb million of living beings. They see the beasts and birds worshipping the Lord. Folk-stories to which these poets refer to, speak of these dumb creatures attaining salvation.

Śaivite Saints

Appar

Appar was a Jain before he became a convert to Śaivism. He remembers his life as a naked ascetic· which was a revolting sight to the women of the land. That life, he later realises, was a life of vain mortification of the body, steeping it in dirt, denying it even the pleasure of a simple bath. Perhaps his was a heart in need of a loving prop. Therefore the religion of self-reliance, building itself according to him on a series of negations, in spite of its knowledge and sincerity, brought him only a chronic stomach ache. This inner tension was removed when he became a convert to Śaivism, relying upon the never-failing love and support of the omnipresent and omnipotent Lord. This he expresses in the very first hymn he is supposed to have sung.

He is a mystic. He sings of the Lord as his lover. In one place he is surprised that the Lord had come into his heart without his knowledge. "Are you a thief?" he asks. "No! I am the guileless" comes the reply.[31] He has seen the darker side of life. He has lived into old age. He therefore always speaks out of his rich experience. He also empha-

30. Iḷamurukaṉār (Ed.), Tēvāram Aṭaṅkanmuṟai (Appar), 4179.
31. *Ibid.*, 4892.

sises the worship of God with hymns, with love and truth.[32] The eight great virtues are the eight great flowers with which to worship Him.[33] His poems are thus his individual offerings at this private worship.

Tēvāram means private worship and originally that term belonged to his hymn. He has musical compositions to his credit. He also sings in *kaṭṭaḷai-k-kalitturai* so full of feelings, so full of power and rhythm. These are called *viruttams* in those days. He has also sung in the long-drawn rhythm called *tirunēricai*. He is preparing the ground for the rhythm of the next age where the lines are lengthened by doubling the older lines. His *Tiru-t-tāṇṭakam* is so simple, so sincere, full of all the varying emotions of his heart, full of that divine message so appealing even to the illiterate man and woman.

It is indeed a good fortune that he was a Jain. Jainism emphasises the ethical principle. He cannot renounce the moral grandeur of that life. In that age the various Śaivite cults though emphasising the unique devotion to God, permitted all kinds of mental and moral aberations. But he revolutionises the whole Śaivite attitude to life, by laying the emphasis on the fundamental ethical principle of this universe, a principle which out of his own experience he has come to equate with Śiva. His beautiful phrase, "*tayā mūla taṉmameṉṉum tattuvam*" explains his God[34] as the root principle of love or grace. This is reminiscent of Jainism, but this is what Tirumūlar has said: "Love is God".

Cuntarar

From this point of view, every act is a divine service and a divine communion; every word is His *mantra*. Words dispel darkness, and light up everything in that glorious revelation of the heart. One's wife is also the form of God and saint Cuntarar lived such a life of domestic sanctity and

32. *Ibid.*, 4895, 4906, 4897.
33. *Ibid.*, 6591 (as interpreted traditionally).
34. *Ibid.*, 6449.

spirituality. Cuntarar was a great political force in his times and sang the praise of the Pallavas.[35] His life was a divine life of world fulfilment, a divine family life, a divine social and perhaps political life. To him God was a friend and a guide. As in the Lord's prayer where even the monarch begs for his daily bread because everything is the Lord's, Cuntarar, even when he was rich, begged for these materials of enjoyment because of his realisation that they were the continued gifts of God even when they were in his own possession. "I want food, I want clothes" he prays.[36]

He was a great poet and a scholar. But he sang his hymns like his predecessors for the common man. His musical compositions are in a simple though not colloquial style. His heart, as he himself tells us, is so immersed in the poetry of Campantar and Appar that he sings but their own ideas. His poetry which is so full of autobiographical touches opens his heart to his Lord and to us. His beautiful vision of the Democracy of Love and Service has already been mentioned.

Campantar

The greatest of these hymnologists is saint Campantar. This poet, even when young, began singing musical compositions to the accompaniment of the *yāḻ* played by the untouchable saint Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻ-p-pāṇar in the heart of the Tamil temples.

Jains and Buddhists were poets and philosophers, artists and patrons of art. They saw however the weakness and failing of the arts. These could be used in the service of religion; but in essence, they were worldly; unless safeguarded, they kindle the degrading passions. A Jain poet calls lust the wealth of music.[37] When the inspiration of the great men of Jainism evaporated, this attitude ended in a negativism, not a blossoming of the inner spirit but a cloister virtue where the soul and the heart lay cabined, cribbed and con-

35. *Ibid.*, (Cuntarar), 8240.
36. *Ibid.*, 7700.
37. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Çintāmaṇi, 412.

fined. The world in all its aspect was to them something to run away from. Since it was impossible to run away from the reality all round, there remained only the possibility of closing one's eyes to this reality. "All is fleeting; All is tempting." "Woman is an enchantress," was their chorus.[38] Motherhood and childhood lost their divine charm.

The Śaivite saints as against this preached a religion of hope and love, a religion of beauty and innocence, a religion of communion and social service. The fleeting movement of the world is to them the moving panorama of the spiritual principle. "All is ephemeral, as is miserable" is an idea which sometimes perplexes even these saints. But beneath all this change is the wonderful and beautiful dream of the Permanent. This basis which is God as Śiva and His Karuṇa or Love, or Fatherhood and Motherhood, is the truth of truths. "God sits there on the throne with the purest of women [the Mother]. One can live aright in this world. There can be no doubt of this," sings Campantar.[39] The divinity of motherhood and womanhood thus come to be glorified. In one song Campantar sings of a divine temple descending from the heavens to enjoy the sweet and loving innocence of a lullaby sung to her child by an unsophisticated woman.[40] This is his way of looking at the mythological story of the descent of a temple. He revels in describing worship by men and women.

Nature, as Appar sings, is the very form of the Mother and God, and He has no other form.[41] From this point of view, Campantar in every one of his verses sings the beauty of Nature, the cloud capped mountains with the playful monkeys, the cool lotus ponds where all bathe and become purified in body and mind, where the sword-fish leaps and dashes against the coconut fruits. He sings of the rolling waves of the sea, the life-giving floods of the rivers the paddy fields

38. Tiruttakkatēvar, Cintāmaṇi, 2760 etc.
39. Ilamurukaṉār (Ed.), Tēvāram Aṭaṅkanmuṟai (Campantar), 3082.
40. *Ibid.*, 1425.
41. *Ibid.*, (Appar), 4552, 4560.

with their yield of gold and the groves of coconut palms, full of peacocks and koels and parrots. Miraculous metamorphosis occurs everywhere in this world of precious wealth and beauty, everywhere full of the wealth of inner contentment. He sings of the arecanut palm; its buds are pearls; its unripe fruits are emeralds; its fruits are gold; all turning into corals. Flowers, plants, bees, birds and beasts—all seem to dance, sing and play. All this is not a meaningless movement but a choric dance of worship to the Lord.[42] This is the message not only of Campantar but of Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs generally.

Campantar sings of the path of song and the path of dance leading to the Lord. Art becomes divine in temple worship. Music is divine. It may kindle passions but one has to harmonise them all in a symphony of Love through catharsis. "Music thus drives out the six passions and in that peace leaps up the Divine Light in the lotus of our heart,"[43] sings Campantar. These songs have become part of temple ritual and they have worked a revolution. The lofty *gōpurams* of the temples become the centre of all aspects of social life, learning, polling, local self-govenment, royal coronation, festival and even of social and medical relief. This new message when understood by all the Tamils, gives rise to a new hopeful religion whose power we see in the reign of the Imperial Colas.

In addition to the innocent love, expressing itself in family life, the relation between God and soul was expressed in terms of this love. The idealised love of the Caṅkam age, purified still further by Tiruvaḷḷuvar and identified with God with Tirumūlar, is revealed in all its concrete elaboration in this story of the love of the eternal lovers—the soul and God. Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs turn in their poetry into women pining for the embrace of God.

Appar belongs to the reign of Mahēndra, and Narasimha Varma of the Seventh century. Campantar was his younger

42. *Ibid.*, 2703.
43. *Ibid.*, 1421.

contemporary, converting the Pandya King Neṭumāṟaṉ, also of the Seventh Century. Cuntarar singing as he does of a Simha, ruling the world in his times, must be referring to Rājasimha and therefore must belong to the early quarter of the Eighth century.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY—VAISHNAVISM

Āṇṭāḷ

The next important Pallava ruler Nandi is a Vaiṣṇavite and in his period Vaiṣṇavism becomes important. Periyāḻvār and his daughter Āṇṭāḷ come in the middle of the century. Āṇṭāḷ is the greatest woman saint. Her songs are the love songs of a woman pining for her Lord, God. She describes the ritual of a penance, a worship and a prayer to Maṉmata for her union with the Lord. There is the description of a dream in which the love-sick maiden goes through the ritual of a marriage with Kriṣṇa—a marriage as conducted in those days. In other songs one gets the *neytal* theme —the song of despair, full of love and pathos.[44]

She has also sung a folk-song popular in those times, where the virgins in the month of December go to bathe and pray before dawn, for rain and prosperity for society, and for a good husband for each one of them. This folk-song motif has been taken by Āṇṭāḷ and later by Māṇikkavācakar to give expression to the eternal longing of the human heart for the love of God. They give their message of love and hope in these songs of children. In this they show their concern for the old and the young, for men and women. The prayer is for the love of God with Whom our relation is eternal and permanent. The prayer is for service and is for the removal of all other desires. "If God's love is assured what does it matter where the Sun rises" they sing.[45]

This message because of its poetry travelled all the way to the islands of the Eastern Seas upto the distant Thailand

44. Tivyaprapantam, Nācciyār Tirumoḻi, Mēkaviṭutūtu 1-10, kātalnōy ceyta paricu
45. Māṇikkavācakar, Tiruvācakam, Tiruvempāvai, 19.

where this festival was celebrated as a National festival till very late in the first quarter of this century.[46]

Periyāḻvār

Periyāḻvār is the poet of the divine child. It is Krisṇa's childish pranks that he sings, perhaps as His loving mother in all the details of a child's life in the nursery, where the background is the mythology of Krisṇa. This has given rise to a new kind of literature, singing the childhood of any hero or God. But in Periyāḻvār the trammels of a conventionalised poetry are not seen, and therefore he may be looked upon as the originator of this new kind of poetry. Here is again restored the divine innocence of childhood. In Vallabhāccarya's worship of Bālakrisṇa one may see the influence of this Āḻvār.

Kulacēkarar

Kulacēkarar must also belong to this age along with Toṇṭaraṭi-p-poṭi. Kulacēkarar was a Prince of the Cera country anxious to go and worship the Lord at Srirangam. He has a vivid imagination which helps him to portray in dramatic monologues the scenes which appeal to him in the stories of Rāma and Krisṇa. Kulacēkarar sings as one of the *Gōpis* in love with Krisṇa, full of her imaginery complaints so realistic, so sincere and so touching. He identifies himself with Dēvaki who had not the good fortune of nursing and nurturing Krisṇa, her own son and who pathetically gives expression to the void she feels in her life.

But *Rāmāyaṇa* is Kulasēkarar's favourite theme. He gives us the heartrending cry of Dasarata, the father of Rāma, when the latter was exiled. He sings a lullaby for the baby of a Rāma. He has summarised the important episodes which appealed to him in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rather than be a king, he would prefer to be a stepping stone on which the *bhaktas* tread as they go up to the Tiruppati Hills to worship

46. Meenakshisundaran, T. P., Cayâmil Tiruppāvai Tiruvempāvai, p. 94.

the Lord.[47] The dust on the feet of these *bhaktas* is more holy than the waters of the Gangēs. The phrase *toṇṭaraṭi-p-poṭi*, "the dust on the feet of the *bhaktas*" is found as the name of an Āḻvār famous for singing the morning song waking up the Lord.

Tiru-p-pāṇāḻvār

Tiru-p-pāṇāḻvār was an untouchable bard, but, we are told he was carried to the Lord by a priest.This meaninglessness of caste in the eyes of the Lord is one of the messages of the poetry of Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs. This Āḻvār has sung only ten songs describing graphically his vision of the image at Srirangam, its eyes, its mouth, its chest, its navel, its dress and its feet, all so beautiful and so captivating to his heart, so life-like and divine. It is his vision which he projects forth. We have similarly a few such songs by Appar on Naṭarāja. This poem of Tiru-p-pāṇāḻvār has appealed so very much to the heart of the great scholar, philosopher, logician and poet of the 14th century Vētānta Tēcikar, who has written a commentary on these ten songs.

Another message of these poets and philosophers is that God is everywhere and that since what appeals to man is Beauty, His image in the endearing form of beauty, captivates and purifies our heart. God becomes incarnate in all such artistic forms of beauty. The artistic images are not mere symbols but His divine incarnation. God, according to the saints, in His glory and greatness comes down as a mere toy in our hands and for our sake. Such is His love and His concern for our salvation. We are, as explained by the Vaisṇavites, His divine jewel; separation from us is thus a loss to Him. He therefore more than us works for our union with Him in love. This emphasises more powerfully the truth of the parable of the Prodigal Son.

Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār

Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār deservedly occupies an important place in Vaiṣṇavism, both as a religion and as a philosophy. He was probably the Guru of Pallavas of that age. He had

47. Murray and Co (Ed.), Tivyapirapantam, Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi, 2, 9.

known the world. He lived up to a great age. He visited all the temples and perhaps was responsible for the building of many Vaiṣṇavite temples. His poetry reminds us of the music and learning of Cuntarar and Campantar. He uses folk-song motifs. In him we meet the ripe experience reflected in the poetry of Appar. He has sung more than a thousand verses exemplifying the truths of the new religious poetry of the age.

The Ninth Century

VAIṢṆAVISM

Nammālvār

Lastly came the greatest of Ālvārs, Nammālvār "Our Ālvār." His is the piercing cry and the unexplicable joy of the heart. We have in his poetry the hide and seek which the eternal enchanting Lover of his heart plays with him, now the joy of the incomparable blessing, then the feeling of isolation, the despair of the dark chamber with intermittent glimpses of the love; finally the eternal joy and light of God, to whose presence he is taken with all pomp and grandeur. In between these moods, the Ālvār addresses the world and directly delivers his message of Love and Hope. He often tries to express the inexpressible, in mystic songs of *akam* poetry. His is a heart-melting poetry giving us the quintessence of his divine experience.

Even mythology becomes real and vivid to this imaginative poet. The stories—sometimes cruel and wild—become to this Ālvār as to the Nāyaṉmārs, revelations of only the love of the Lord removing obstructions even in an earlier age, with a prophetic vision for all human beings, including ourselves, coming in the present and the future. It is not the beginning or the middle but the final end of these episodes, namely the loving victory and joy of the Lord, born of His satisfaction of serving us, that is emphasised in these references to the mythological stories. There is for instance the famous story of Mahābali where the Lord comes as a beggar-boy praying for three feet of land and, after getting the boon assumes His universal form to measure out the earth and the heavens with His Feet. After measuring

two he finally puts His Foot on the Head of Mahābali for the third foot. It is the joy of the Lord in touching his children—all living beings in this act of measurement that is emphasised. The idea of inspiring the future generations with hope and love through and by this story is also important.

Maturakavi

Maturakavi is the last of the Āḻvārs and perhaps a disciple of Nammāḻvār. He has sung only one hymn and that not on God but on Nammāḻvār. To sing of him is sweeter to Maturakavi than to sing of God. In this way Nammāḻvār becomes the first ācārya, or the *ācārya*, amongst the Vaiṣṇavites. The spiritual lineage of Rāmānuja, the great Visiṣṭādvaita philosopher, is traced back to Nammāḻvār, through Yāmunācārya, Nātamuṉi and Maturakavi. It is said that Nātamuṉi, whose heart was captivated by a few songs from *Nālāyiram*, collected all the verses through prayers to Maturakavi.

ŚAIVISM

Māṇikkavācakar

Māṇikkavācakar is the fourth great Śaivite Saint. There is a dispute about his age, but we may assign him to the ninth century. His *Tiruvācakam* is, as Dr. Pope describes it in its own phraseology, bone-melting poetry—the divine revelation of a loving heart. All sorts of folk-song motifs are used to carry the poet's message even to the playing girls. To any Tamilian, thinking of poetry of divine love, the name of *Tiruvācakam* alone occurs. This work is an out-pouring of the poets' heart; his fears and anxieties alternate with his hopes and joys till finally there is no longer any despondency but blissful and certain joy.

In his *akam* verses Māṇikkavācakar speaks of love and his beloved. This will be discussed later. Elsewhere he

48. Pope, Dr. G. U., Tiruvācakam translation Intr.

speaks of God as Lord and Master; God is his *guru*.[49] Here is perfected the cult of the *guru*. He speaks the language of intimacy of a child speaking to its mother. The delicious sweetness of honey and nectar, the rich colours of precious gems and the varying aspects of human love all become one in God, inspiring wonder and reverence and finally a childlike love. He speaks the language of mythology only to bring out this wonderful richness and concreteness of God. He is a minister and a great scholar who when he looks back exclaims, "Oh learning, what a great ocean."[50] He becomes an innocent child melting in love with no hankering after name or fame, no attachment to land or relatives.

49. Māṇikkavācakar, Tiruvācakam, Pōṟṟittiruvakaval, 76.
50. *Ibid.*, Tiruvācakam, Pōṟṟittiruvakaval, 38.

6. THE JAIN EPICS

PERUNKATAI

The period of the Pallava Supremacy is characterised by the development of epic poetry. This development begins in an earlier period, with *Cilappatikāram* and *Manimēkalai.* In *Peruṅkatai* the epic in *akaval* form reaches its perfection.

It is assumed by many that *Peruṅkatai* is a translation of a Sanskrit work,[1] even though these critics can point to no specific work that is still extant. The epic does not read like a translation. At most it can only be an adaptation of the story so popular in that age. The poet belongs to the Koṅku country of the Gangas. A Ganga king Turvinītaṉ, also a Jain, has written a long narrative poem on Utayaṇaṉ, the hero of the story of *Peruṅkatai* giving it a Jain colouring[2] but this is not available. This might have inspired our poet and in that sense he might have been influenced. To be so inspired Koṅku Vēḷ must be a near contemporary of Turvinītaṉ, who lived in the sixth century. An old commentator Aṭiyārkkunallār, speaks of this poet as belonging to a Caṅkam period.[3] But perhaps the Caṅkam he refers to may be a Jain one of a later date than the Caṅkam already mentioned. The author writes in *akaval* metre. The composition of this work is of the type called *iyaipu*[4]—narrative poetry of long verses each ending in a nasal.

Peruṅkatai is told in Tamil by an author whose real name has not been preserved. He is now known as *Koṅkuvēḷ.* Koṅku is the Koṅku country, one of the sub-divisions of the Tamil Land, comprising the modern Coimbatore and Salem

1. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Peruṅkatai preface, p. viii.
2. *Ibid.*, footnote.
3. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram: Uraippāyiram, p. 8.
4. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, 1496.

districts. *Vēḷir* means the clan of chieftains; *vēḷ* is the title of the clan used as suffix or prefix to personal names. We are told he was a Jain ascetic of Vicayamaṅkalam, once a Jain centre,[5] even now having Jain temples, which may be seen whilst travelling from Coimbatore to Erode. The work does justify the conclusion that this is a Jain epic using Jain phraseology, Jain mythology, and Jain ideas. Dr. Cāmināta Aiyar has summarised the Jain influences found in this epic.[6]

Peruṅkatai means the "Great Story", corresponding to the Sanskrit name *Brihat Katha.* The earliest version of this story was in Prakrit; it was by Guṇāḍya the poet of the Sālivāhaṉa court of the First Century A.D.[7] But that is no longer available except for a few verses quoted in books on Sanskrit grammar. The story itself was popular, giving rise to dramas and narrative poetry in various languages of India. It is really a collection of anecdotes which grew round the name of the hero, Utayaṇaṉ, a king of Ujjain. The *Katha Sarit Sāgara,* the "ocean of stories", as it is called in one version,[8] clearly brings out this characteristic feature of the story. Many of its episodes have been separately treated by Bhāśa, Harṣa and others.[9] Naravāṇaṉ was said to be the son of Utayaṇaṉ and some stories lay the emphasise on Naravāṇaṉ,[10] perhaps as a later development.

Utayaṇaṉ is famous as the musician who, with the help of his harp, can bring under control even rogue elephants. He goes all alone into the forest in search of his favourite elephant. Knowing this, an enemy king has placed his soldiers inside a wooden elephant, so perfectly made, that Utayaṇaṉ mistakes it for a live elephant. He is overpowered and taken prisoner. Whilst he is in prison, the royal elephant of the city runs amuck and he is called for help. The part of the

5. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Peruṅkatai, Preface, p. xxviii.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. XXXI, XXXII.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Peruṅkatai: Preface, p. XXXVI.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Ibid., Peruṅkatai: Preface, p. viii.

epic narrating the story thus far, is not available. The portion now extant begins with Utayaṇaṉ bringing the elephant under control with his harp. He is thereafter requested to give lessons in music to the princess Vācavatattai. She and Utayaṇaṉ fall in love with each other. Their marriage is about to take place, but Utayaṇaṉ's minister wants to punish the king for having imprisoned Utayaṇaṉ. He arranges for Utayaṇaṉ's elopement with Vācavatattai whilst the water festival is going on in the city, and they are married in accordance with his plans.

Yaukantarāyaṇaṉ or Yūki, as this minister is called, is painted in this epic as greater than Cāṇakya of the Mauryan period. It is not political consideration but friendship and human sympathy that inspire his stratagems. He is not only a minister of Utayaṇaṉ but also one of the four friends who are prepared to lay down their lives for his sake. Utayaṇaṉ loses himself completely in his passionate attachment to his wife, when he should be himself in safety. With the help of his friends, the minister arranges for this also.

Orders have been given for a fallen woman, Cāṅkiya-t-tāy to be drowned in a river. Utayaṇaṉ releases her and sends her on a pilgrimage. She must have embraced the religion of Cāṅkya, popular in those times. On her return, the father of Vācavatattai makes her his daughter's maid of honour. The minister Yūki obtains the help of this woman. The state in those days made use of such religious persons for its strategy, as is made clear by Kauṭilya's *Artha Sāstra.* But here again it is not political intentions but real love and human sympathy that make her play this part. *Tāy* means a mother and Cāṅkiya-t-tāy true to that appellation is more than a mother to Vācavatattai. The world is made to believe that Vācavatattai's residence is burnt by accident along with her. But Cāṅkiya-t-tāy cleverly removes her and takes care of her.

Utayaṇaṉ is overwhelmed with sorrow when he learns that Vācavatattai is dead. Once again Yūki has to make him act. He proposes to make Utayaṇaṉ an ally of the king of Magadha. A festival is being celebrated in its capital city.

Utayaṇaṉ, who goes there, sees the niece of the king, Patumāvati. She is so much like Vācavatattai, that he falls in love with her. She too loves him. They are married after Utayaṇaṉ has put to flight the enemies who have surrounded the capital city of Magadha. Utayaṇaṉ wins back his kingdom which has all along been in the hands of the enemy.

Since everything has been successfully accomplished, Vācavatattai can now be brought back. Utayaṇaṉ's lost harp is recovered. He thinks of Vācavatattai alone, neglecting Patumāvati who is magnanimous enough to take this as quite natural. Vācavatattai who is convinced that Utayaṇaṉ was separated from her only for gaining the help of the king of Magadha, is brought back to Utayaṇaṉ. Patumāvati and Vācavatattai are now the two queens beloved of Utayaṇaṉ.

In a game of ball Māṉaṉīkai, really the daughter of the king of Kōsala imprisoned by his enemies and brought by Utayaṇaṉ along with other imprisoned women when he conquered back his country, shows herself an expert. Utayaṇaṉ falls in love with her. Vācavatattai is angry and orders the shaving of her head. It now becomes a problem requiring all the strategy of state policy to save Māṉaṉīkai from this disaster. Patumāvati is sent to pacify Vācavatattai. At the opportune moment a letter comes to Vācavatattai revealing the identity of Māṉaṉīkai. Vācavatattai has her married to Utayaṇaṉ. He later marries a number of other women.

Vācavatattai, whilst pregnant, achieves her desire to fly in a *vimāṉa* and see all parts of India. She gives birth to a son, Naravāṇaṉ. He grows into manhood and marries Mataṉamañcikai. The extant portion of the epic stops here.

From other sources we know that this Mataṉamañcikai is carried away by a *Vidyādhara* of the higher regions. Naravāṇaṉ defeats him, recovers back his wife and rules over the *Vidyādhara* empire. Utayaṇaṉ, therefore crowns his son by Patumāvati and renounces the world. He finally attains the highest spiritual stage of Jain Perfection.

This is in essence a story of a king enjoying life to the full, blessed with a glorious son, and at the end renouncing

the world and attaining salvation. This, it will be seen, is also a characteristic feature of the stories of *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi.*

Unlike the Buddhist *Maṇimēkalai* this is not propaganda literature. Narrating the story in the most interesting and captivating way is the main concern of the poet *Koṅkuvēḷ.* He wrote in an age when Jainism was popular, and his readers could no doubt understand the various references to this religion. The epic here has taken the form of the Sanskrit literary epic, thanks to the influence of the Sanskrit and Prakrit works which have become popular in the Tamil Land. This epic, however, does not reveal a closely knit plot. That is because the stories of two kings, father and the son, are given without any continuity except that of time and history. Descriptions of nature and various human activities and games, often for the mere pleasure of description, come in this epic. Sometimes these remind us of some of the monologues in *Cilappatikāram.* As individual songs they are of interest even without specific reference to the plot of the epic. The tendency to elaborate, almost to the extent of concentrating exclusively on the parts, develops in later writings. The poet though an ascetic is not blind to the innocent joys of nature and society. The description of the ball game[11] and water games[12] played by women, the description of the garden,[13] and of the flowers, in many places with a pleasure simply in enumerating them,[14] are all there. It has become a fashion, an established rule, that the epic should contain these descriptions. Daṇḍiṉ, who after all wrote his definition of an epic only after studying the famous epics of a previous age, makes this clear.[15]

11. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 1. 20-22.
Koṅku vēḷir, Peruṅkátai, 4:12.

12. *Ibid.,* 1:38.

13. *Ibid.,* 1:12.

14. *Ibid.,* 1:15.

15. Taṇṭi, Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, 8.

Characterisation has also been attempted. Utayaṇaṉ is a warrior. The poet describes him as having a *valvil* ("strong bow"), a term used of a chieftain in Caṅkam poetry who could aim his arrow from his bow so strongly as to pierce through many things.[16] He is a musician and a master of many arts. He is a successful teacher expounding these arts, so much so that he is praised as *the* teacher. He is so attached to music that his enemy makes use of this weakness to capture him as a prisoner. He loves with all his heart Vācavatattai and takes no interest in life when he learns that Vācavatattai is no more. Bu again he falls in love with Patumāvati and later with Māṉaṉīkai. Making love to the latter when queens are there shows only that this man is not by nature monogamous. In an age when polygamy was the rule this was not considered immoral. The poet creates humorous situations in which the King expresses his love for Māṉaṉīkai to Vācavatattai herself mistaking the latter for Māṉaṉīkai.[17] The impression left in our mind, however, is that he is given more to the pleasures of life than to the duties of a king. Perhaps this is a sign of greatness in that age. He has to be saved from himself on many an occasion by Yūki. Yūki therefore comes in like Providence and it is his greatness that is revealed in this epic. Perhaps unlike Cāṇakya he has a heart. The people like Cāṅkiya-t-tāy who work under him are full of this human love and sympathy, sacrificing their personal interests in the cause of a higher interest. His policy, though not avoiding conflicts and wars, is one of marriage alliances. In this, too, we see his human approach to all problems. All the characters in this epic appear before him as mere pawns on his chess-board. But he deals with them with love and regard like the invisible God trying to make men more and more perfect by creating suitable situations.

16. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu, 152. Koṅku Vēḷir, Peruṅkatai, 1:47:132.
17. *Ibid.*, 4:13, 11. 226-246.

The women characters are also skilfully portrayed. Vācavatattai and Patumāvati are all in love for Utayaṇaṉ. Even here there is a contrast. Patumāvati has no feelings of jealousy towards Māṉaṉīkai and in that way appeals to our heart. With all her love, with all her sufferings, with all her beauty, Vācavatattai creates in our mind the impression of a woman inspired by vindictive jealousy. To create a loveable and human character out of fallen women acting in the service of the state is indeed difficult. But in the creation of Cāṅkiya-t-tāy the poet has succeeded beyond measure.

In this story, the unique feature is that strategy, espionage and statesmanship are not only serving the righteous cause but are also inspired by human friendship and love and therefore humanised.

It is because he has developed this humanistic outlook that this Jain ascetic of a poet enjoys humorous situations and innocent pleasures of the life of the world. This new outlook is itself a reflection of the change in attitudes to life taking place in this period.

It is very difficult to believe that the poet is narrating this story to preach Jainism when he actually is revealing to us the innocent joys of life in spite of cruel fate. True to the tradition of pre-marital love, the later poets always show their heroes and heroines to be inspired by this love. Vācavatattai and Utayaṇaṉ look at each other by accident or by providence when Utayaṇaṉ controls the rogue elephant and when Vācacatattai is looking at that great act from the palace. They at once feel love for each other. The description of this pre-marital love is in accordance with Tamil convention, and the similies used here are found in the commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Aka-p-poruḷ*,[18] which is the authoritative exposition of the philosophy of pre-marital love.

18. *Ibid.*, 1:32:11. 17, 22.
Commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār, Aka-p-poruḷ sutra, 2.

CINTAMANI AND CULAMANI

General

Cintāmaṇi and Cūḷāmaṇi are the two great epics of the Jains. They are written in the *viruttam* metre, the metre so to say of the Pallava and Cola age. This metre had been employed earlier in the devotional hymns, but *Cintāmaṇi* was the first great epic to make use of it. *Cūḷāmaṇi*, too, was written in the same metre.

There is an inscription at Sravana Belgola in Mysore giving the list of great Jains, among whom are mentioned the authors of *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi*,[19] in that order after Guṇabhadra. This is interpreted as meaning that the author of *Cintāmaṇi* came first. [20] Guṇabhadra wrote his *purāṇa* or the Book of Jain Mythology at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.[21] If Guṇabhadra was also the guru of the author of *Cintāmaṇi* and Satyavāk, mentioned by Guṇabhadra, was the king ruling then, the epic must belong to the tenth century and Poyyāmoḻi often referred to as praising *Cintāmaṇi* must be the King Satyavāk, for this name the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil Poyyāmoḻi *Cintāmaṇi* must have come immediately after *Cintāmaṇi*. The only difficulty is that there is no mention in the inscription that these works are in Tamil; nor are the names of the authors given. The author of *Cintāmaṇi* is Tiruttakkatēvar: the author of *Cūḻāmaṇi* is Tōlāmoḻi-t-tēvar.

There is another school of thought which assigns an earlier age to these epics. Appar refers to *nariviruttam* and this is interpreted as the title of a book. The author of *Cintāmaṇi*, we are told, was asked to show his command of narrative poetry by writing a story of the Jackal—*nariviruttam*, which is identified with the book Appar refers to.[22] In

19. Epigraphica Indica, Vol. III, pp. 190, 191.
20. Kōpinātarāv, Centamiḻ, Vol. V, p. 99.
21. Kōpinātarāv, See 19.
22. Rākava Aiyaṅkār, Introduction to Nariviruttam.

the age of Appar, *viruttam* meant what has come to be popular in the later age as *kali-t-tuṟai* and not other kinds of verses such as those in which the *Nariviruttam* of Tiruttakkatēvar was written. A reference to another work on the story of the Jackal (i.e. *nariviruttam*) composed in this *kali-t-tuṟai* metre occurs in the commentary on *Vīracōḻiyam.*[23] *Cūḷāmaṇi* is said to have been composed in the reign of one Cēntaṉ, the Tamil king,[24] who is identified with the Pandya Jayantaṉ of the seventh century.[25] But there is another verse which refers to this epic being patronised by a Kārveṭṭi[26] a variant northern form of Kāṭuveṭṭi, the title of the Pallavas. Cēntaṉ, then may be a Pallava chieftain of a later age.

In any case these works are not earlier than the age of Pallava Supremacy and not later than the tenth century. Therefore they cannot come within the period of Cola Supremacy.

The commentator on *Cintāmaṇi*, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, speaks of the author of *Cintāmaṇi* as a scion of the Cola family.[27] It may be that the author wrote this work on the great Jain emperor in order to portray a conception of an ideal ruler.

The Jains speak of sixty-three renowned persons of the ancient age. These are the twenty-four Tīrttaṅkaras or Prophets, of whom the last was Mahāvīra; twelve Cakravarttis or emperors; and twenty-seven others, consisting of nine generations of two Vāsudēvas ("brothers") and one Prativāsudēva ("enemy") in each generation.[28] The Tīrttaṅkaras are the prophets who expound the faith after attaining sup-

23. Peruntēvaṉār, Commentary on Vīracōḻiyam, 127.
24. Tōlāmoḻi-t-tēvar, Cūḷāmaṇi Pāyiram, 4.
    Vēḷvikkuṭi grant Indian antiquary, XXII, 57.
25. Nīlakaṇṭa Cāstiri, Pandyan Kingdom, 41.
    Paṇṭārattār, T. V. S., Pāṇṭiyar Varalāṟu, p. 24.
26. Cāminātа Aiyar Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Cūḷāmaṇi preface, p. 2.
27. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Cintāmaṇi 3143.
28. Vēṅkaṭarājulu Reṭṭiyār (Ed.), Sripurāṇam.

reme knowledge. The Vāsudēvas remind us of Krişṇa and Balarāma or Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In every generation they are born as brothers. One of them is a warrior and the other a saint. The warrior fights against the Prativāsudēva like Rāma fighting against Rāvaṇa, or Krişṇa against Śiśupāla.

Cintāmaṇi and *Cūḷamaṇi* both end with renunciation and attainment of salvation. In these sections the Jain ascetic life and philosophy are described at great length. The importance of this aspect of these epics in Tamil literary history will be referred to later.

CINTAMANI

Cintāmaṇi gives us the story of one of the Jain emperors, Cīvakaṉ. There are many works in Sanskrit that deal with this story, but none of them is earlier than this work in Tamil. The Tamil version differs from the others in various details. Except for the story, probably current in his age, Tiruttakkatēvar had no original to follow.

The poet first gives the story of Caccantaṉ, the father of the emperor. It is a tragedy and is well-written. Caccantaṉ marries the beautiful Vicayai. So that he may enjoy life with Vicayai, he places the administration in the hands of a Macbeth of a minister, in spite of the protests and entreaties of his other ministers. On assuming the new power, the minister, Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ, desirous of becoming a king, besieges the palace. Caccantaṉ prepares a *vimāṉa* in the shape of a peacock and trains Vicayai to fly therein. Vicayai who is pregnant is requested to fly away for safety. Caccantaṉ, like all tragic heroes, welcomes death with the full knowledge of what is going to happen.

The Vimāṉa glides down in a grave-yard and the queen gives birth to Cīvakaṉ. This portion of the epic is very pathetic. The cry of the mother is heartrending. She leaves the child only after seeing with her own eyes that he is being taken away by a loyal servant of the dead king, when this person later comes to bury his own child. She goes and

resides in a nunnery. The child, unknown to others as the real prince, is fortunate enough to be educated under a great saint, who is cured of his illness by the inherent natural powers of Cīvakan̲. Cīvakan̲ learns from him the truth about his own birth but the saint takes a promise from his disciple that he will continue to be incognito for a year.

In this one year he becomes famous in the State and outside, as a warrior, as a master of all sciences and arts — archery, music, the art of make-up, the art of counteracting the effects of poison. He is recognised by men and women as the perfect man. He is a Jain to the core. Here the poet has the aim of showing that a Jain king practising *ahiṃsa* can still be successful in war. When the hunters lift away the cattle of the city, the enemy king is powerless and Cīvakan̲ brings back the cattle driving away the robbers without shedding a drop of blood. He saves a young woman of the city from the clutches of a rogue elephant, and brings it under control without causing any injury even to this cruel animal. He is full of sympathy and love to all living beings. He is so kind to a dog in whose ears he utters the divine *mantra* whilst it is about to die, that this dog, reborn as an angel, later comes to save Cīvakan̲. We move in this epic in a world in which supernatural elements are treated as being quite natural.

In *Peruṅkatai* we saw the importance of marriage alliances in foreign policy. The Colas believed in this policy[29] and the story of Cīvakan̲ must have been therefore of immense interest to the people of the age. Cīvakan̲ himself is not conscious of this but Fate takes charge of foreign policy. He has to get allies not only outside the state but also inside. Therefore in this age of polygamy a number of marriages are contracted by him. It must be remembered, however, that from his point of view this is not for political considerations, but out of love. Each of these marriage stories perhaps has its origin in a folk-story. One lady is won as a result of his

29. Nīlakaṇṭa Cāstiri, The Cōḻās, Vol. I, p. 219.

victory in a musical competition;[30] another in an archery tournament where the target was a revolving pig;[31] others as a result of his curing snake-bite,[32] his judging the best perfume,[33] his saving a lady from an elephant,[34] his making one to confess her love to him, though she has been pretending to hate him,[35] and lastly his inspiring love by his presence in the heart of a lady who, to the misery of her parents, has not till then felt any signs of it.[36].

These stories stand as separate episodes and they must be taken as such. They are introduced into the main story without much cohesion. The only connecting link is the person of Cīvakaṉ. These loosely related episodes affect the unity of this epic. Most of these stories have been Tamilised, true to the tradition of Tamil literature. The author tries to harmonise this preponderance of marriage stories with the other episodes of the hero's life by speaking of all those aspects, too, in terms of marriage. His education is his marriage with the goddess of learning, his victory is the marriage with the goddess of the Earth, his coronation is the marriage with the goddess of wealth; and his attaining divinity is his marriage with the Kayvalya Śri or the goddess of salvation.

He meets his mother finally at the Swayamvara — of his uncle's daughter. Swayamvara here is a ceremony in which a princess takes as her husband the successful competitor at an archery tournament. Cīvakaṉ is successful in this competition. Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ, who is present, incites other kings to attack. Cīvakaṉ's party has come prepared for it. In the battle the villain is killed, and Cīvakaṉ is crowned king and emperor. Finally he renounces the world and attains sainthood.

30. Tiruttakka Tēvar, Cintāmani 3 (Kāntaruvatattaiyār Ilampakam).
31. *Ibid.*, 12 (Ilakkaṇaiyār Ilampakam).
32. *Ibid.*, 5 (Patumaiyār Ilampakam).
33. *Ibid.*, 4 (Kuṇamālaiyār Ilampakam).
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, 9 (Curamañcariyār Ilampakam).
36. *Ibid.*, 6 (Kēmacariyar Ilampakam).

The knowledge of the various sciences — music[37] the making of musical instruments,[38] curing snake-bite[39] — is explained at length whenever the story provides an opportunity. This is a recurring feature in Indian literature.

There is only one place in which Cīvakan̲ sheds any blood, that is in killing Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran̲ on the battlefield. This is not of Cīvakan̲'s seeking and Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran̲'s death is the just and proper punishment which any state has to inflict. It would seem therefore that there is a place for *hiṃsa* as a last resort and only as the last resort, not to save oneself or one's family but only to save the world at large. The idea of an empire is centered around this conception of Universal Dharma, not around individual greatness or national pride. In all these ways *Cintāmaṇi* rises in the estimation of the people of that age as portraying an ideal of an empire where there are strategies, battles, and even capital punishment, but all for the sake of spreading universal love in accordance with Universal Dharma. This conception has special importance to Tamilians who have come under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

The poet, though a Jain ascetic, describes the love episodes in graphic detail, not even avoiding at times a sensuous appeal. This has unfortunately set the standard for the later day poets, till in the days of the voluptuous polygars or chieftains in the eighteenth century such poetry becomes revoltingly obscene.[40] People, we are told, suspected the author's celibacy.[41] Some in modern times will suggest that here repressed feelings get sublimated into poetry. The poet's idea, as that of earlier Jainism, is that man when he has completely enjoyed life, blossoms into a perfect personality

37. *Ibid.*, 3 658.
38. *Ibid.*, 3 717-721.
39. Ibid., 5 1286-1290.
40. Kūḷappa nāyakkan̲ kātal (for instance).
41. Cāmināta Aiyar Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Cintāmaṇi: Life sketch of the author, p. 16.

in whom all aspects of human life become harmonised without any jarring note or opposition. In that kind of peace and harmony there is no more hankering after wordly pleasures, in the march towards Godhood or ideal manhood. Man thereafter renounces the world and concentrates within himself to become one with the eternal truth. This attitude of the author is the finest example of Jain humanism. It is not a life of world-negation that he preaches, but a fruition of worldly aspirations, a consummation which in time ultimately leads to divinity. This is indeed a new interpretation or rather a new emphasis on old aspects of Jainism, necessitated by the stand taken by Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs.

The author has made his contribution to the growth of the verse form called *viruttam* in Tamil. He has tried to experiment with the varieties of this metre as a vehicle of epic poetry. The verses sometimes show signs of such experimentation. He changes the metre to suit the varying moods of the speakers or of the episodes.

In this, it is clear that he wants form to harmonise with content. Even his similes are chosen for their appropriateness to the speaker. The shepherd in describing the beauty of his daughter compares her brown or golden beauty to the melted ghee of the cow and her softness to that of butter.[42] The various episodes deserve a detailed study from this point of view.

The poet has established certain conventions which later poets follow. There is first of all the description of the ideal state and city at the beginning of the story. All later poets whether writing an epic or a *purāṇa* always start with this idealised description.

Another convention is *avaiyaṭakkam*, the song of humility in addressing the learned audience of readers, occurring at the beginning of the work.

42. Tiruttakkatēvar, Cintāmaṇi: 2:480.

Phrases, similes and ideas are freely borrowed from this epic by later writers. Generations of poets including the Muslim poets and even Tamil poets of foreign origin like Beschi have not only praised this work but also paid their homage by freely imitating it.[43] Dr. Pope speaks of it as being "at once the Iliad and the Odyssey of the Tamil language."[44]

CULAMANI

Cūḷāmaṇi is by Tolāmoḻi-t-tēvar. Its verses are in *viruttam* metre much more musical and much more free from experimentation, thus showing a development from the stage of *Cintāmaṇi.*

We have to mention here that in this period the Sanskrit school of rhetoric has come to power even in South India; for one must not forget that Daṇḍiṉ belongs to the Pallava court. The epics of this period therefore reveal this influence in the number of figures of speech and in the use of and the pre-occupation with the words as words. The Sanskrit influence is more pronounced in *Cūḷāmaṇi,* which takes ideas from Kalidāsa and others.[45] The realism of the Caṅkam age is no longer considered a virtue. How can it be in epics which introduce supernatural elements into the stories? But in spite of all this the characters, whether men or gods, remain human to the core, in their sympathies, in their passions and in their actions.

Cūḷāmaṇi is the story of one generation of Vāsudēvas and Prativāsudēvas. The elder of the Vāsudēvas is called Tiviṭṭaṉ. The Prativāsudēva is Aśvakaṇṭaṉ. Tiviṭṭaṉ reminds us of Krisṇa holding up the mountain as his umbrella and killing the wild animal, here not an elephant but a lion. He marries the daughter of a Vidyādhara king. He kills Aśvakaṅṭaṉ when the latter attacks him in battle.

43. Vēṇukōpāḷ Piḷḷai (Ed.), Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi-c-coṟpoḻivukaḷ, p. 256.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Mīṉākṣicuntaraṉ, T. P., Cūḷāmaṇi Pāṭṭum Uṟainaṭaiyum, p. 191.

Though *Cūḷāmaṇi* is thus the story of Tiviṭṭaṉ, the Vāsudēva, the author has in his mind the story of his father Payāpati, as the story of a perfect man blessed with a happy family, consisting of glorious children, adored by the whole world, and with an empire assured of peace and plenty through him and through his children by their own greatness and by marriage alliance, and above all with a personality made complete and perfect, aiming at and reaching as in the case of Cīvakaṉ the perfection of divinity through renunciation, *tapas* and and the final knowledge. It is evident that this poet is trying to give us a portrait of an ideal king very much like Cīvakaṉ but free from the obsession of marriages. To this extent it is an improvement on *Cintāmaṇi.*

If we look at the beginning and end of *Cūḷāmaṇi* it is Payāpati who has to be considered as the hero. In the intervening portions Tiviṭṭaṉ's adventures and glories become so very important as to make us forget that the epic is of Payāpati and not Tiviṭṭaṉ. The structure of the epic is thus defective.

The verses are perfect gems. The plot is well knit though not expressing the idea of the author so very clearly as he intends. Characterisation has also been attempted but the value lies in the story rather than in the characterisation. The descriptions are charming and beautiful.

His description of nature make it one with man. He is superb where he describes the trees and plants and caves as natural palaces and marriage halls. He describes his ideal world as a commingling of flowers and this symbolises the harmony of this world and of the heavens.

The *Nāṭṭu-c-carukkam* and *Nakara-c-carukkam* describing the ideal country and the city are unique. Instead of describing the five regions one after the other, as other works do, the poet attempts to give a synoptic picture of the country as a whole, giving as it were a picture of the flower-world, the plant-world, the human world. It is important to note that Cēkkiḻār, a great Saivite poet, follows this method, when he

comes to describe his own mother country, the Toṇṭai nāṭu or Pallava country in his *Tiru-k-kuṟippu-t-toṇṭanāyaṉār purāṇam.*[46]

THE OTHER EPICS

In this connection the conception of *Pañcakāvya* may be examined. We have two terms *Aimperuṅkāppiyam* — the five great epics and *Ciṟupañcakāppiyam*—the five minor epics. The first term has become well established by the time of Mayilainātar, a commentator on *Naṉṉūl* not later than the thirteenth century.[47]

The epics included under the five major epics are *Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai, Cintāmaṇi, Kuṇṭalakēci* and *Vaḷaiyāpati.* The first three have been already examined. The last two are not available. The story of *Vaḷaiyāpati* is found given in *Vaṇikapurāṇam*[48] but one cannot understand the value of the epic from this summary of the story alone.

One gets an idea of *Kuṇṭalakēci* however from *Nīlakēci* which was inspired by it as a counter-blast. Kuṇṭalakēci is the name of the heroine, challenging the followers of various sects and philosophical systems to a debate to find out the truth and ultimately winning them all to her side. She is a Buddhist. We already saw in *Maṇimēkalai,* the importance such religious and philosophical discussions had in that age. They become the subject matter of an episode in an epic, an episode which suggests the intellectual progress of the human mind. These religious discussions assume an epic grandeur and a number of poetic works were composed in that age, all of them having names ending with the suffix "*kēci*", referring to the woman who succeeds in these debates. Here also one sees the influence of *Maṇimēkalai* in making the victor a woman. The commentary on *Yāpparuṅkalam*

46. Cēkkiḻār, Periyapurāṇam, 25:1-387.
47. Mayilainātar, Commentary on Naṉṉūl, 387.
48. Vaṇikapurāṇam (in manuscripts).

enumerates a number of such works.[49] *Nīlakēci* is the Jain retort to *Kuṇṭalakēci* of the Buddhists. Nīlakēci is the well known mythological ghost, popular in Tamil Nad as Paḻaiyaṉūr Nīli. She is in this epic converted to Jainism and she defeats *Kuṇṭalakēci* and others in a series of debates. Fortunately this work is still available to give us a picture of other works.

It is surprising that *Kuṇṭalakēci* should be included in the list of major epics. It is very difficult to understand the sense of literary appreciation of the people responsible for this grouping. More than this inclusion, some exclusions are more startling. One would have expected *Peruṅkatai* and *Cūḷāmaṇi* to go into this group. One has therefore to conclude that this grouping has been made not on the basis of the literary beauties of these epics, but on some other grounds. The value of this conception of *peruṅkāppiyam* is not of much importance in the literary history of Tamil except as showing that considerations other than literary merit, such as religion and philosophy, guided at a later time the evaluation of even epic poetry.

Included in the other group, the *Ciṟupañcakāppiyam*, we find *Cūḷāmaṇi, Nīlakēci, Yacōtarakāviyam, Utayaṇaṉ caritai*, and *Nākakumārakāviyam*. Here again the inclusion of *Cūḷāmaṇi* disturbs our sense of literary appreciation, because it is ranked here with others which are of no literary merit. *Nīlakēci-t-tiraṭṭu*, as already remarked, stands on a different footing and even there it is comparable with *Kuṇṭalakēsi* and not with *Cūḷāmaṇi*.

The other three belong to the kind of Jain narrative poetry which we get ordinarily in Tamil and other languages of India. In *Yacōtarakāviyam* a man sacrifices a cock made of flour. Even for this kind of sacrifice he undergoes untold sufferings in a series of births. In one of these births he is born as a handsome and powerful king. His wife however, en-

49. Amitacākarar, Yāpparuṅkalavirutti, Vol. II, p. 540.

chanted by the musical tune sung by a horsegrood who is a leper, falls in love with him. She even attempts to kill the king. This revolt against music and art as leading to passion, this insistence on the interminable chain of births as explaining *karma* and description of life as one continuous misery, form the characteristic features of these works. There in neither poetry nor plot construction nor characterisation. In the midst of the thick forest of births, we miss our way in following the story.

There must have been an age in which these were popular, but we can hardly call it an age of real literary appreciation. *Utayaṇaṉ caritam* has been edited by Dr. Cāminãta Aiyar and reads like the composition of a high school boy. *Nākakumāra Kāviyam* is no better. There are other Jain *kāppiyams* referred to, but fortunately or unfortunately they are not available.

7. THE EPICS OF THE COLA PERIOD

KAMPARAMAYANAM

The period of the Imperial Colas is a glorious page in the history of Tamil land, when the Tamils under Rājēndra I go as victors as far as the Ganges in the North, the distant Thailand in the East and Ceylon in the South. This is the result of the national awakening inspired by the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs with their new and more positive attitude to life. This inspiration is not confined to Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. It colours the poetry of other religions as may be seen from the various Buddhist and Jain prayers in verse form preserved in the commentaries.[1] Perhaps *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi* also reflect the same humanism. It is naturally very much pronounced in the Hindu epics.

Kampaṉ's Age

Kampaṉ is the gratest epic poet of Tamil land. According to one verse the year of composition of his work is 885 A.D.;[2] On the basis of another verse[3] and the frequent occurrence of the word *uttamaṉ*, this work is assigned to the tenth century in the reign of Uttamacōḻaṉ. This seems the most reasonable view. Others will interpret these verses as referring to 1185 in the age of Kulōttuṅkaṉ III on the basis of references to Pratāparudra in the anecdotes relating to Kampaṉ and on the basis of the occurrence of the phrase *Tiyākavinōtaṉ* which is claimed by them to be the special title of this king, though this is not admitted by all.[4] In any case all these dates fall within the period of the Imperial Colas.

1. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Tolkāppiyam 1022.
2. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam: taṉiyaṉ "eṇṇiya cakāptam eṇṇūṟṟi ēḻiṉmēl".
3. *Ibid.*, "āviṉ kaṭai-c-cakarar āyirattu nūṟoḻittu".
4. Vaiyāpuri-p-Piḷḷai, S., Tamiḻ-c-cuṭamaṇikaḷ, pp. 122, 127, 131.

The fact that Kampaṉ is still experimenting with the earlier forms of *viruttam* metre suggests an earlier date. His poor knowledge of geography of even the Deccan cannot be explained if he belonged to a period later than that of Rājēndra I and earlier than that of the fall of the Tamils. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, though he refers in every thousandth verse to his patron Caṭaiyaṉ,[5] there is no direct reference to any great contemporary king.

The name Kampaṉ is the name of Śiva in Kāñci, as we learn from *Tēvāram*.[6] We have a Pallava King, Kampavarmaṉ. The commentary on *Vīrocōḻiyam* gives as an example this sentence "*Kampaṉāriṭai-p-perumai uḷatu*" ("there is greatness in Kampaṉ").[7] This must be a reference to Kampaṉ the poet. The great commentators do not quote him; but, following as they do a different literary tradition, most of them do not quote even from *Tēvāram* or *Nālāyiram*. Some of his verses are however found included in a later *Puṟam* anthology called *Puṟa-t-tiraṭṭu*,[8] perhaps of the fourteenth century.

In the same century a Kannada inscription from Mysore, refers to *Kampadarāmāyaṇa*. The form *kampada* is puzzling because grammatically it belongs to the class of non-humans. Anecdotes have grown around the name of Kampaṉ. When that proper name has ceased to be current, these stories associated him with *kampam*, the pillar or stick. A proverb is current in the literary world that even a post in Kampaṉ's house will compose verses. Perhaps this is responsible for the Kannada form *kampada* on the assumption that the stick, characteristic of Kampaṉ, sang the verses. It is significant that such anecdotes should have arisen before the fourteenth century when this epic becomes popular even in the Kannada country.

5. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 6:42:14 (for instance).
6. Iḷamurukaṉ (Ed.), Tēvāram Aṭaṅkaṉmuṟai 3240.
7. Peruntēvaṉār, Commentary on Vīracōḻiyam 35.
8. Puṟa-t-tiraṭṭu 332, 725.

Rāma in the pre-Kampaṉ period

The story of Rāma is a great moral influence and it is the good fortune of the Tamilians that their greatest epic is on Rāma. The story of Rāmāyaṇa is known to the Tamilians from the Caṅkam age. In one verse there, Rama holds his court in the Tamil land before he invades Rāvaṇa's country; even the birds keep silent and serene suggesting that even the non-human world was cooperating with Rāma in his designs.[9] In another verse the jewels thrown out by Sīta are found by the monkeys which, with a joy and wonder of discovery, try to wear them without any knowledge as to their proper use.[10]

In *Cilappatikāram*, Kavunti in consoling Kōvalaṉ refers to Rāma, the very Lord of the Vedas, suffering on account of his separation from his wife.[11] Again we are told that the city of Pukār after Kōvalaṉ left it, looked like Ayōdhya after Rāma had left it.[12] Sīta and Rāma have thus appealed to the imagination of the Tamil poets.

There are a few *veṉpās* quoted in the old commentaries,[13] and these are probably from an earlier Tamil version of *Rāmāyaṇa*.

To the Āḻvārs and Ācāryās, Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Some of them sing of episodes in his life.

Periyāḻvār has a song which represents Hanumāṉ's speech to Sīta. To prove that he is the accredited messenger from Rāma, Hanumāṉ refers to certain episodes known only to Sīta and Rāma.[14] Kampaṉ elaborates this in the scene where Hanumāṉ meets Sīta.[15]

9. Cāminātа Aiyar Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Akanāṉūṟu 70.
10. *Ibid.*, Puṟanāṉūṟu 378.
11. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 14:46-48.
12. *Ibid.*, 13:64-66.
13. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Tolkāppiyam 1021.
14. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Tivya Pirapantam Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi: Aṉumāṉ Cītaikku-k-kūṟiya Aṭaiyāḷam 1-10.
15. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 5:4:60-62.

Kulacēkara Āḻvār's poem has the pathetic speech of Daśarata when Rāma has left for the forests.[16] In Kampaṉ a speech of this kind comes before Rāma actually leaves for the forest whilst Dasarata is being attended to by Kausalya.[17] Kampaṉ so arranges the story that Dasarata dies as soon as he hears Rāma has left for the forest. Kulacēkarar sings a lullaby to the child Rāma[18] but this Kampaṉ does not utilise. Kulacēkarar also summarises the important episodes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[19]

Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār refers to Rāma addressing the boatman Guha as his brother and speaking of his own wife Sīta and his brother Lakṣmaṇa as the sister-in-law and younger brother of Guha.[20] This has touched the Āḻvār's heart and made him take refuge in God who is no other than Rāma. This message has become the very heart of Kampaṉ's epic.[21]

Nammāḻvār proclaims, "Will anyone want to study anything but Rāma?"[22]

Rāma in the post-Kampaṉ period

If Kampaṉ is earlier than the eleventh century, Rāmānuja must have come after him. This *ācārya* has been praised by one of his disciples, as famous for his interest in *Rāmāyaṇa*.[23] This must then be a direct effect of Kampaṉ's great work in Tamil.

16. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Tivya Pirapantam Kulacēkarar: Mutalāyiram 729-739.
17. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 2:4:54-65.
18. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Tivya Pirapantam, Kulacēkarar: Mutalāyiram 718-728.
19. *Ibid.*, 740-750.
20. *Ibid.*, Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār : Periya Tirumoḻi 1418.
21. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 2:8:40-43, 5:3:23.
22. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Nammāḻvār: Tiruvāymoḻi 3605, 3606.
23. Rāmānucar Nūṟṟantāti 37.

The commentators on *Nālāyiram* quote from Kampaṉ.[24] Many of their interpretations of Vālmīki such as that on Tāra seem to have been suggested by *Kamparāmāyaṇam.*

No wonder that when the influence of Rāmānuja travelled North through Rāmānanda, it blossomed first into the songs of Kabīr referring to Rāmā and ultimately into the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasidās seems to have travelled South and must have heard of Kampaṉ's version of the story, especially the premarital love of Rāma and Sītā.

The popularity of Kampaṉ in the Kannada country has already been noticed. His popularity in the Kerala country is shown by the following Malayalam anecdote. Kāḷi, guarding the Laṅka of Rāvaṇa, was requested by Śiva to depart. She was therefore not present to witness the *Rāmāyaṇa* war. To make up for this Śiva, born as Kampaṉ, composed the *Kamparāmāyaṇam* consisting of the thirty-two dramas enacted even today as a part of the ritual during the annual festivals in the temples of Śiva in the northern part of Kerala.

The epic, written in an age when rhetoric and exaggeration were popular, suffers from these defects. There have been a number of interpolations and these mar the beauty of the epic and also rightly create an impression that Kampaṉ is pleading for a society full of castes and for blind adoration of the higher caste. There is actually a movement in the Tamil country which goes to the extent of demanding the burning of this great epic on this score. Kampaṉ's epic is called *Kampanāṭakam,* "Kampaṉ's drama," because it has the appearence of a series dramatic scenes. In the Malayalam country we have in the temple rituals, the marionette plays representing some thirty-two episodes from *Kamparāmayaṇam,* where people behind the scene moving the marionette dolls, recite the speeches as found in *Kamparāmayaṇam* and explain and elaborate them. Kampaṉ's dramatic scenes are so arranged that the first speech of any character appearing for the first time is immensely important.

24. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, Commentary on Verse 957.

The Story

Kampaṉ's ideal — the Rāmarājya

The Jain epics have described the ideal king. Kampaṉ's story makes this idea more concrete in terms of the ideals of his age and of his poetic vision. Bhāravi has spoken of Rāma or Hanumāṉ as the Mahāvīra. Here is a conception of heroism different from that of Jains who speak of their last prophet as Mahāvīra. After the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs divinity and heroism can no more be a mere negativism, a turning away from this world. God's greatest mission, almost the only explanation for His existence, is to prepare the environment for the salvation of the souls.

The heavenly kingdom has to be established here and now. This is the high watermark of divinity. This is the greatest of sacrifices and it is real heroism to sacrifice even His divinity in this great cause of universal salvation. "Rāmarājya" has become popular in India as the name of this kingdom of God on earth. Our poet is concerned with portraying the environment which will be suitable for shaping the Perfect Man or Rāma, who will in his turn work for the establishment of the Rāmarājya.

With this purpose in view he describes the country and the city, utilising the ideal descriptions of *aintiṇai* found in the Caṅkam literature and *Cintāmaṇi*.[25] *Perumpāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai* describes the country as taking its colour and shape as it were from the king.[26]

Nature sets the stage for Man but it is also true that Man conquers even the opposition of Nature. Man can rise from his animal nature only when the basic necessities of life are satisfied. Hunger drives out all signs of culture, sings Avvaiyār.[27] What is required is a country rich in its yields,

25. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 1:2.
26. Cāminātạ Aiyar Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Perumpāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai, pp. 39, etc.
27. Avvaiyār, Nalvaḻi 26.

blessed with unfailing rains, with scope for the noble activities of Man. In India famine and pestilence result from the failure of the rains. Rains thus hold the key. But the greatest men and women undeterred by Nature's opposition become perfect and even force down rain. That is considered the greatness of the perfect Man (*Siddha*), of the king and of the chaste woman.

Kampaṉ describes the unfailing rains, feeding the perennial river — the Ganges made holy and sacred in the minds of the people of India by legends and literature. The rains and the floods remind him of the divine legends. Like God, they take the form of many things, sometimes reminding us even of the prostitute. He does not leave us in doubt; for he tells us that, like God appearing in many forms according to the beliefs of the various sects and religions, water takes many different forms of channels and reservoirs according to the shapes men give it.[28]

Agriculture and the agricultural tract — *marutam* — form the life of the country. This part of nature is described as holding its court where the culture of Nature's beauty thrives in the form of the dance of the peacock, dancing to the tune of the bees,[29] whilst the murmuring clouds keep the time and honey bees keep humming the *sruti* or basic tone. The all-pervasive love thrives here. The swan leaves its young bird to sleep on the lotus; the frogs sing the lullaby; if it wakes up and cries, the milk from the udder of the buffalo, cooling itself in the waters there, drips into its open mouth.[30]

The agricultural activities are described as a cooperative game of loving men and women.[31] The descriptions here remind us of the Nature painted by Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs. The rich yield, after equitable distribution, is stored for the

28. Kampaṉ, Kamparāmāyaṇam 1:1:619.
29. *Ibid.*, 1:2:4.
30. *Ibid.*, 1:2:13.
31. *Ibid.*, 1:2:10, 11.

great sacrifice of hospitality and social service and for the development of culture.

The description of the ideal city, reminding one of the Heavens described by the poets, follows. The Rāma of Kampaṉ, a product of urban culture, goes to spread his culture in the forests, in uncivilised countries or in countries where civilisation has taken an undesirable turn. One can contrast the riches of this city of Rāma with the riches of the city of Rāvaṇa. Here it is governed by the ideal of *aṟam*—universal *Dharma;* there it is governed by *maṟam*—narrow national and military jingoism, incarnate in Rāvaṇa, closing its doors to the universal principle of *Dharma.* In Rāma's city there is no man-made distinction between the poor and the rich, between the educated and the uneducated. It is a land of light and love. Kampaṉ closes this chapter making this suggestion explicit. "Education is the great trunk of the tree. Infinite aspects of learning are the strong branches growing forth from it. *Tapas* forms the leaves; love is the bud; *dharma* is the flower; unique bliss is the fruit."[32]

Here comes the description of the role of the King as the reflection of God, the King of Kings. If God exists only for the perfection of man, the king exists, as Tiruvaḷḷuvar has hinted, for the perfection of the citizens.[33] The soul of the body politic is the society of citizens; the body providing for its enjoyment and perfection is the king. This differs from the Caṅkam idea of the king as the soul of the state.

In this environment is born Rāma. It is only in a civilised and cultured state, that great people are born and make a mark on society. Rāma receives his physical, mental, and moral education from the saint of that age, Vaśiṣṭha. Though living in the city, Rāma moves in the midst of the beauties of Nature, perhaps to train himself for the future life in the forest, with his inseparable brother Lakṣmaṇa. He lives amidst wealth and love only to be convinced that such a life is necessary for all.

32. *Ibid.,* 1:3:74.
33. *Ibid.,* 1:4:10.

Returning every day from his teacher, he lovingly asks the citizens about their welfare of their family and children, moving thus with them all on equal terms of love and sympathy.

Some of the episodes as described already in Vālmīki become of immense importance in Kampaṉ in our view of his emphasising the development of the Perfect Man, Rāma, in that environment. Therefore these implications are brought out here though they are stated specifically by Kampaṉ.

Viśvāmitra is the other great name in the spiritual world of Hindu mythology; he is a sage, not a born Brahmin but a Kṣatriya becoming a Brahmin by his spirituality, a sage who, refusing to accept the caste distinctions, tries to bless with Heaven even the accursed *caṇḍāḷa.* Rāma the future warrior and the universal man should necessarily come under the influence of the sage waging a war against the eternal forces of cruelty and sin, which are inspired by egoism and frustration in life. Rāma undergoes his training through sufferings physical, mental and moral.

Called upon to aim his arrow at a woman, his mind is torn by a moral conflict but he ultimately learns the lesson of submitting to the will of the chosen *Guru,* who has no passions except the passion of universal love.

Viśvāmitra takes him to be married to the daughter of Janaka, another name famous in Hindu and Upaniśad mythology for spirituality and universal vision. This marriage of Rāma with Sīta, not Janaka's own daughter but a foundling on the field adopted and treated as his own, true to the universal vision, is in accordance with the ideals of Viśvāmitra.

Following the traditions of the premarital love of the Caṅkam age, Kampaṉ makes his Rāma and Sīta see and fall in love with each other. This incident is dramatically introduced where Rāma enters the city of Sīta whilst she is on the balcony of her palace.[34]

34. *Ibid.,* 1:10:35.

Rāma proves his right to her hand by establishing himself as the only warrior who can handle the chosen bow. The value of his education under Viśvāmitra is seen.

The Brahmin sage Paraśurāma, though blessed with divine powers is the sworn enemy of kings. He challenges Rāma to handle his bow; Rāma with all his humility accepts the challenge as a heroic and Dharmic venture. He bends the bow without any difficulty. Paraśurāma has to point out his own *tapas* as the target to be aimed at and pierced by Rāma's arrow. Thus Paraśurāma symbolically surrenders his erstwhile ideals, accepting Rāma's ideal as shaped and formed by Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

Rāma's father cannot but think of his own spiritual perfection as the consummation of his rich life. He therefore arranges for Rāma's coronation.

But Rāma's mission is elsewhere. Providence, or *Dēvas* as Kampaṉ calls it, prevents the coronation through the agency of a hunchbacked woman. This woman, whose scheme is a brilliant example of political strategy, acts out of frustration caused by her deformity. Rāma's stepmother, who has been all love to him, instigated by this hunchback of a nurse, a life long friend of hers, demands the crown for her own son and the banishment of Rāma for fourteen years. Rama's face, which bloomed like a lotus when the kingdom was offered, even now blooms like a fresh lotus, when the kingdom is denied to him.[35] This fact emphasises that he has achieved perfect equanimity of mind. He takes this incident as something good for his spiritual development because of possible contacts with saints and sages of the forest. He is not deterred by the entreaties of his *Guru* or even his beloved brother Bharata, who refuses to be crowned as desired by his mother.

Bharata however agrees to rule in Rāma's absence as his deputy, trying to walk in Rāma's footsteps. He is actually crowned, but with the sandals of Rāma. He lives not as a

35. *Ibid.*, 2:3:112.

king but as an ascetic outside the capital of the kingdom. Rāmarājya is thus prepared by this ascetic ruler inspired only by the high ideal of *dharma* and guided always by the human love of brotherhood.

Rāma begins his pilgrimage of universalism. What follows is a story of the expansion of the empire of love and and the establishment of the brotherhood of Man. This expansion is described as the enlargement of the family of Rāma.

The hunter chieftain, the leader of the boatsmen, Guha, who helps Rāma to cross the Ganges, becomes Rāma's younger brother, but the elder brother of Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata.

Kampaṉ describes a scene in which the prince Bharata, true to his relationships, tries to fall at the feet of Guha, the elder brother; and Guha competing in love, tries to fall at Bharata's feet.

Rāma's mother accepts Guha as the child of Daśarata, her husband, and exclaims, "what wonder that Daśarata after reaching the Heavens still begets children."[36] It is not merely an admission into the family. She ardently desires that these five, Guha with the four sons of Daśarata, may like one man rule all the expanse of this world.

Thanks to Hanumāṉ, another natural born genius of this culture, Rāma befriends Sugrīva and makes him king of the monkey State, admitting him into his family as the sixth brother.

Vibhīṣaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, is admitted into the fold as the seventh brother, to be crowned later as the King of Laṅka. Thus spreads the kingdom of love and brotherhood of Man upto the Southern Seas, the limit of the world then known.

36. *Ibid.*, 6:4:143.

Women in Kamparāmāyaṇam

The greatness of the chaste woman is another message of *Kamparāmāyaṇam.* It comes, however, from *Cilappatikāṛam.* Kampaṉ knows the animal passion existing in the minds of some women, as in his character Ajamuki. It tries to reach the level of human passion in some. But it is still a selfish hankering after physical pleasure, often turning into hatred when that love is not returned; all the same the heart, even when disappointed and frustrated and filled with jealousy, is always thinking of its ideal of beauty. Sometimes in the midst of working out of jealousy for the downfall of the ideal lover, it unconsciously gives expression to its love for the ideal. This is found in Sūrpaṇaka who falls in love with Rāma and hates Sīta. Deprived of her nose, she goes to inspire Rāvaṇa to elope with Sīta. Rāvaṇa inspired by her description, sees in his imagination Sīta herself and when he, overpowered by that imagination, asks her whether it is Sīta who appears before him, Sūrpanaka's unconscious mind and imagination cause her to reply "This is Rāma".[37]

There is a still higher stage reached, the stage of the devoted wife exemplified by the wives of Daśarata and the wives of *rishis.* A higher stage is reached in those who identify their lives with that of their husbands, so much so that when the husbands die they themselves die. This is exemplified by Maṇḍōdari, the Queen of Rāvaṇa.

There are certain names honoured in Hindu tradition as those of chaste women. Ahalya and Tāra may be mentioned. In Vālmīki, Ahalya, the wife of a sage, willingly accepts the embrace of Indra, but is purified into a chaste woman by the touch of the divine dust from Rāma's feet. Kampaṉ's idea of chastity refuses to accept this version, but follows and improves upon a Caṅkam version.[38] In his account Ahalya is duped by Indra's impersonation and when she suspects the truth she swoons. The curse of her husband com-

37. *Ibid.,* 3:10:148.
38. *Ibid.,* 1:9:18; 19.

ing later on and changing her into a stone is a continuation of this repentance. Viśvāmitra delivers his message that there is no sin when the mind is not in it. The touch of Rāma, the missionary disciple of Viśvāmitra, restores her back to the human life of love and service.

Tāra is the wife of the monkey king Vāli. In Vālmīki's epic, on Vāli's death his brother Sugrīva, the friend of Rāma, takes her as his beloved. His love is reciprocated by Tāra. Lakṣmaṇa is red with rage at the ungrateful indifference of Sugrīva in not coming with the offered help and Tāra is brought to pacify him by her presence. Kampaṉ, however, has to change this. Rāma knowing the pangs of separation, sympathises with Sugrīva whose wife was forcibly removed from him by his own brother. If Rāvaṇa deserves death for a similar act, Kampaṉ feels Vāli also should deserve that punishment. There can be no other moral justification for the death of Vāli. If that were so, Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa cannot be allowed to tolerate Sugrīva taking Tāra as his beloved. Therefore Tāra in Kampaṉ becomes a saint in her widowhood, the spiritual lodestar in the court of Sugrīva. She comes to pacify Lakṣmaṇa by her saintly and ascetic presence, her dress of widowhood brings tears in his eyes by reminding him that the same fate must have overtaken his own mother after he left the capital city.

In this way Kampaṉ introduced significant changes in the minor episodes, which he could reasonably alter. In these episodes he jumps into the middle of the story. But as far as the main story is concerned he follows the tradition of narrating it from the very starting point without making any great change.

In contrast with these women stands Sīta. She is one who can conquer Nature and opposing environment. Such is her love and such is her power that even Rāvaṇa cannot touch her, though he is prepared to lay down his life for her rather than return her to Rāma. She suffers in prison to save the empire of love, and brotherhood of Man. She bears a cross for the rest of humanity. The sufferings have

no effect on her because her love of Rāma makes her think always of him and not of anything that happens around her. When after the victory Hanumāṉ rushes to punish the servants imprisoning her, she pleads in all earnestness for them.

Modern India, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, believes in the principle of *satyagraha*. Kampaṉ nearly a thousand years ago exemplifies this principle in Sīta. She is the divine principle of universal compassion, taking the form of a helpless woman but proudly accepting the challenge of evil and walking into prison. She is all love to her husband. All who come into contact with her feel her divine presence. She accompanies her husband on his travels from Ayōdhya, being unable to bear the separation; and yet Providence, as though to make her more and more perfect, inflicts an unbearable separation which she accepts as a kind of *tapas* or *satyagraha*. With all her love to Rāma, she is guided only by *dharma*. She will not swerve from the path of virtue even to save her father. Rāvaṇa because of his magical powers arranges for somebody to impersonate the father of Sīta and to beg her to yield to Rāvaṇa. She spurns him and finally refuses to believe that her father is capable of such an ignoble request. She is never afraid of Rāvaṇa. She is conscious of her powers; but refuses to use them because she feels it is the duty of a hero to win back his wife on the battle field.

In Vālmīki's version, after Rāma's coronation Sita is banished to the forest because of the rumour that Sīta after ten months of stay in the enemy's country could not be expected to be pure. The force of rumour and scandal is indeed great. It is in the forest that Sīta gives birth to twins, who come to rule after Rāma. That the perfect man should be blessed with children is the ideal which we have seen in the Jain epics. But Kampaṉ does not emphasise this aspect. He closes this story dramatically enough with the coronation of Rāma.

Kampaṉ cannot forget the force of the malicious rumour which even now haunts the minds of the readers of *Rāmāyaṇa* when they forget the story as told in the epics. He

therefore creates an episode for its expression and its removal. Rāma, when Sīta is brought back from Laṅka, is not merely a husband but a king to rule over an empire where the queen equally with him has to be not only perfect but also above suspicion. In his spiritual equanimity, made perfect by his sufferings he demands at the call of duty, in what appears to us a ruthless manner, the proof of her chastity. She is prepared to enter the fire rather than suffer the scandal. But fire refuses to burn her. Rāma is angry with the spirit of fire. Who can resolve this complication? Daśarata still dear to Rāma comes down; and now as a supernatural being, knowing all the secrets of the universe, assures Rāma and the world of Sīta's chastity and divinity.

There is, however, the question of the untold sufferings undergone by Rāma and Sīta. What explanation can be offered? What is the place of Kaikeyī, the step-mother of Rāma in the scheme of things? Because of Daśarata's love for Rāma, Kaikeyī to start with, loves Rāma more than her own son Bharata. But when her future is painted black, she succumbs to the machinations of the hunchback. It must have cost her a good deal to be firm—a firmness which results in her widowhood and in her being spurned by all including her own son. It is indeed a great fall. She bears it all with tragic calm and goes with Bharata to bring back Rāma. Her silence speaks of her greatness. She does not remonstrate. She accepts everything without a murmur. This is a great spiritual experience. One who was once capable of all love is thus shown to be capable of this willing suffering. Perhaps even when succumbing to the evil advice demanding Rāma's banishment, her unconscious mind sublimates this demand as one for the perfection af Rāma through holy pilgrimage and *tapas*.[39] That is what has actually happened. This is revealed by Rāma himself in the beautiful scene Kampaṉ creates.[40]

39. *Ibid.*, 2:3:111.

40. *Ibid.*, 6:40:117.

Daśarata, after restoring Sīta to her legitimate queenhood begs of Rāma to ask for a request. Daśarata, before his death refuses to own Bharata as his son and Kaikeyī as his wife. Kampan introduces the cultured phraseology of his times and Rāma requests Daśarata to recognise Bharata as his (Rāma's) brother and Kaikeyī as his (Rāma's) mother.[41]

Daśarata has not yet reached the steps of perfection; he still nurtures his old hatred against Kaikeyī. He has to be made perfect. He willingly grants the boon that Bharata should be accepted as his son. But he refuses the other request. It is here that Rāma explains the heart of Kaikeyī and thereby her innocence,[42] from his own experience. The development of his personality is the effect of the magnanimous act of Kaikeyī when she bears the sinner's badge. Daśarata is convinced and admits Kaikeyī into his fold of love. This episode thus reveals the purity of Sīta and relieves the conflict between family love and political duty in the heart of Rāma. It makes Daśarata perfect and reveals the true inward nature of Kaikeyī to be accepted as great by all. Finally it gives a satisfactory explanation for the sufferings undergone for the establishment of the kingdom of love and brotherhood of Man.

Rāvaṇa, but for his military jingoism and egotism which do not hold any other thing of value and which aspired to bring everything great and beautiful into his state and palace, is a great personality. He is a warrior, who has no equals until he meets Rāma. He is the beloved of his people, of his brothers, of his wives and sons till Sīta comes on the scene. He is of handsome appearance. He is a great devotee of Śiva to win whose favours he has undergone a life of suffering or *tapas*. He is a man of culture and refinement. He is a great musician and in his flag is inscribed the harp. But unfortunately all this comes to nothing when the rudder

41. *Ibid.*, 6:40:115.

42. *Ibid.*, 6:40:115, 117.

of his life is not *dharma,* but only his state and his people looked at from his own point of view. He is blessed with a chaste wife; therefore he must have known what womanhood is. Parochialism unfortunately prevents him from realising the divinity of womanhood outside his state. In the very first scene in which he appears in Kampaṉ's epic, this giant conqueror of the three worlds, once he falls under the influence of his vicious passion for Sīta, becomes an ugly jackal trying to abduct her in the absence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

It must be stated to his credit, that he does not descend to the level of embracing an unwilling woman. But the way in which he tries to compel Sīta to accept his embrace makes him unpopular even amongst his erstwhile followers.

Vibhīṣaṇa's advice is turned down and he has to leave to join Rāma. Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa's other brother, gives the same advice. When Rāvaṇa does not listen to it, Kumbhakarṇa goes to the battlefield to lay down his life. So does Indrajit, his beloved son. Rāvaṇa himself is so much enraged at Sīta that he even thinks of killing her. This shows that his love is nothing but selfishness. He becomes conscious of the greatness of Rāma.[43] But his egotism which he mistakes for a sense of honour makes him unyielding. He prefers the death of a valiant warrior. There seems to be no other escape for him or others round him.

Poetic justice demands an explanation for the tragic fall of this mighty personality, so great and so loving in other respects and so willingly going to his end, fully conscious of the final result. For one thing, he has no place in the brotherhood of Man. His defect becomes well expressed in that passion for Sīta, which implies the rejection of the human values inspiring the brotherhood of Man.

Kampaṉ, as already pointed out, starts with the necessity for a rich civilisation for the perfection of man. But

43. *Ibid.,* 6:28:10.

this is only one half of the truth. The other half is the inner inspiration of *dharma* which is wanting in Rāvaṇa's scheme of things. If the value of chastity as a symbol of the perfect spiritual culture has to be restored, Rāvaṇa has to die.

Sīta is not only imprisoned in the prison-house of Asōkavaṉa but also lies imprisoned in his heart. Release from the latter prison has to be effected by the arrow of Rāma piercing through Rāvaṇa's heart and body. Maṇḍō-dari the beloved and divine Queen of Rāvaṇa, before her death crying in despair at the loss of her husband, gives expression to this great truth and thus explains the poetic justice of this tragedy.

Kampaṉ calls this work *Rāmāvatāram,* the descent of Rāma. He knows Rāma is God incarnate and he repeats this as often as he can. God has to come as a man, live as a man, suffer as other men, becoming perfect through the very scheme of things he has ordained for others. If Rāma were to become a model and a standard, he must become a man. It is only then any man or woman can believe in the potentialities of human nature to become divine. Therefore in *Kamparāmāyaṇam,* Rāma is through and through a man and Sīta through and through a woman. If they were to behave like God there would be nothing to wonder at. It is the human heart with all the human passions and human failings that make Rāma and Sīta lovable and great. Kampaṉ is conscious of this and therefore he gives expression to a beautiful phrase, "*Māṉiṭam vēṉṟataṉṟē*",[44] O! human nature has won.

Kantapurāṇam: A homage of imitation to Kampaṉ

The Śaivites have an epic produced in the seventeenth century by Kacciyappa Civāccāriyār. It is an adaptation of *Skanda purāṇa,* narrating the story of Subrahmaṇya, the child of Śiva and an old Tamilian deity. It is an attempt to

44. *Ibid.,* 4:3:19.

walk in the footsteps of *Kamparāmāyaṇam*. That is the greatest homage the author can pay to Kampaṉ and that is why it is mentioned here.

The age of this book is also not settled. A verse gives the year as 707; the śaka year will correspond to 785 A.D. It seems to be exactly hundred years previous to śaka 807 i.e. 885 given by a verse for *Kamparāmāyaṇam*. There is a verse mentioned in *Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai* as Kacciyappar's.[45] This colophon refers to a Kantapurāṇam Kacciyappar a contemporary of Antaka-k-kavi Vīrarākava Mutaliyār of the seventeenth century, though others claim it earlier.

Its language is naturally more modern. The divinity of childhood is very beautifully expressed. As against Rāvaṇa we have Sūrapadma; as against Hanumāṉ, Virabhahu; as against Kumbhakarṇa, Simhamukha; as against Indrajit, Bhāṉukōpa; as against Maṇḍōdari, Padmakōmaḷā; as against Rāma, Subrahmaṇya. This is however a story of God and not of man. Therefore the story has to move in the supernatural sphere. The poet has utilised the conception of Dakṣa fighting against Śīva as conceived by Oṭṭakkūttar. He also utilises the conception of the universal struggle between egotism and spirituality as represented in Kampaṉ's version of Hiraṇya and Narasimha. It is only from that point of view that the story of God could be narrated. The last portion of this work is the story of God going to woo and marry Vaḷḷi. The story has an inner significance as revealing the philosophical truth of God going in search of the soul, to snatch it away from seductive environments, and to make it one with Himself. The book is very popular among the Śaivites, especially those of Jaffna. Though not rising to the heights of Kampaṉ's work, it has its own merits. A later writer in the twentieth century, a purist, one Pāmpaṉ cuvāmikaḷ, feeling that the story has not been told with seriousness and serenity which the divine story requires has himself attempted to write an epic on the story of Subrah-

45. Kaṉakacuṉtaram Piḷḷai, T. (Ed.), Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritam-242.

maṉya, *Kumāra Cuvāmīyam.* Except for the puritanic outlook, it cannot stand comparison with *Kantapurāṇam.*

PERIYAPURANAM

Origin and influence

The great epic which must be mentioned next to *Kamparāmāyaṇam* is *Periyapurāṇam* by Cēkkiḻār, a minister of the Cola empire. Jainism has the *Mahapurāṇa* and the very name *Periyapurāṇam* suggests that it is claimed to be on a par with it (*mahā* and *periya* both mean "great"). The *Mahāpurāṇa* speaks of the sixty-three ancient great men. *Periyapurāṇam* also deals with the sixty-three Nāyaṉmārs called Purātaṉapuruṣaru ("the ancient men") in Kannada The name the author gave it is *Toṇṭar purāṇam,* the Purāṇa of the Servants of God.

Some hold that Cēkkiḻar composed the work in the first half of the twelfth century, and others assign it to the last part of the same century. The tradition tells us that he composed this epic for the sake of the reigning King, with the set purpose of leading him to the glories of Śaivite stories and away from his original attachment to the story of *Cintāmaṇi.* This *Cintāmaṇi* cannot be the earlier and the more famous epic in Tamil. One Vadībha Simha has composed during the reign of Rājarāja II another version of the story of the Tamil *Cintāmaṇi* in Sanskrit called *Kṣatra Cūḷāmaṇi.* He has made the epic much more ethical in atmosphere by introducing moral epigrams which the various parts of the story illustrate. This moralisation seems to have appealed to Rājarāja II. To show him the greatness of the Śaivite conception of *Dharma,* Cēkkiḻār probably wrote his great *purāṇa.*

Rājarāja must have been so very well impressed with this new epic that, in the new temple which he built at Tārācuram, he arranged to get these stories of the saints sculptured in bas relief, though the sculptors have introduced some changes.

The stories of these Nāyaṉmārs became so popular even in the distant Kannada country that the great Vīraśaiva Kannada poet Harihara of the twelfth century came all the way from his country on a pilgrimage to the native places of these saints. He went back and produced popular literary pieces called *Ragaḷa* describing the lives of the saints. This Vīraśaivite tradition grew in the Kannada and Telugu countries and produced a number of literary works on the stories of these saints. In the Tamil country itself various *purāṇas* of the temples especially of those which are in the native villages of the saints never failed to narrate the stories of the respective saints.

Characteristic features

The *Tēvāram* saint Cuntarar has given us his vision of these great saints forming a universal democracy of love and service. But he has mentioned only the names, though sometimes with suggestive attributes. In the tenth century Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi has summarised what he learnt about each of these individual saints in each verse of his *Tiru-t-toṇṭartiruvantāti.* As a minister of state, Cēkkiḻār must have known more about these saints through inscriptions, court-records and traditions. In his epic he narrates the individual lives of these poets in separate *purāṇas.* Really his work is the story of saint Cuntarar. In the midst of the story when this saint sees the vision of the spiritual democracy, Cēkkiḻār takes the opportunity to explain at length the life of every saint in that vision, so as to make us understand the real implication of the vision as transforming Cuntarar's life. Naturally these stories have no other unity except through this vision.

The saints mentioned by Cuntarar are all natives of the Tamil land, which in those times extended up to the banks of Tungabadra in the North. Therefore *Periyapurāṇam* becomes the national epic of the Tamils.

The saints belong to all kinds of castes and tribes, classes and creeds. These are men and women, old and young, rich

and poor, learned and ignorant, ascetic and worldly. These differeces do not count before God. The *purāṇa* is the story of a perfect spiritual democracy. It narrates the story of man, whatever his political, economic and social position be, becoming great as a saint.

There are two kinds of saints, as pointed out by the Śaiva Siddhānta work *Tiru-k-kaḷiṟṟu-p-paṭiyār*, namely one whom ordinary men cannot follow, the other whom all can follow. The first group is, as it were, in a different world forgetting everything else but their absolute devotion to God, preparing to sacrifice their life, children, parents, and relatives without ever caring to consider whether this may not be unjust according to the ordinary rules and laws of society. When the heart is pure and the inspiration divine, these acts, not motivated by any lower passion, make even God, who comes to test them, shudder at their spirit of absolute self-sacrifice. But this can never be a model to be followed by others.

It is after all the life guided by an ideal which has to be emphasised and for this the stories of other saints serve as a model and a standard for all. If the first group (*vaṉ toṇṭar*) belongs to the harder way, this group belongs to the softer way (*meṉ toṇṭar*). However poor, however helpless a human being may be, nothing can prevent him from having an ideal and living up to that ideal. The ideal may be distributing food, clothes or other necessities of life, writing books for the benefit of others or composing and singing hymns.[46] One has to see the Lord in man; and in that feeling of reverence perform the social service according to one's own capacity in whatever field one is. The fisherman offers to God the first fish caught each day and throws it away in the sea. Even when for days together he does not catch a second fish, thus being reduced to chronic hunger, he swerves not from this ideal. This is real *māṉam* ("honour")

46. Tirukkaḷiṟṟu-p-pāṭiyār 16.

as preached by Tiruvaḷḷuvar; the honourable man dies rather than give up his ideal.

It is only those who live this life of an ideal that can know how to serve. A farmer who has the ideal of feeding every guest coming to his house, is reduced to poverty. Whatever paddy he has, is sowed in his field. There is nothing in the house and the guest comes. His wife suggests to him to bring the seedlings from the fields. What are they to do, however, for fuel? The farmer removes the rafters of the roof. The feast is served.[47] This reminds us of a popular anecdote relating to Karṇa of Mahābhārata fame; he demolishes his palace to allow the Brahmin to whom he had promised to give whatever the latter demanded and who asked for the fire-wood when, because of the rains, it was not available any where in the country even for the prince of the land. Only those who have lived the life of sacrifice know how to serve. In *Periyapurāṇam* the divinity of family life, husband and wife living in communion for this divine social service, is beautifully expressed in many of the stories.

In every story there is an outer conflict and an inner tension. But everyone of these saints refuses to yield and becomes glorious and victorious, even if it be in death. In every story there is a mental and spiritual development. This reminds us of the modern psychological short stories. The epic is through and through human from all points of view.

The descriptions of these saints' native villages, spread all over the Tamil country, are graphic, beautiful, inspiring and befitting. The descriptions appeal by their innocent simplicity to the hearts of all.

The style of *Periyapurāṇam* is simple and full of life, sometimes echoing the hymns of the Nayaṉmārs, sometimes the poets of the Caṅkam age. The majestic and stiff Sanskrit-ridden language which an elder contemporary, Oṭṭakkūttar, popularised might have killed all attempts at poetry.

47. Cēkkiḻār, Periyapurāṇam 8, 13.

But Cēkkiḻār saved Tamil from this calamity and his epic is national and democratic, not only in its theme and its message but also in its language and its rhythm. Naturally the book has a universal appeal and therefore has a tremendous influence both within and without the Tamil country. There is nothing obscene, nothing bemeaning in this epic. Every verse is full of love for God, full of reverence for life and full of human sympathy, revelling in the idea that the meanest of the mean can rise to the highest spiritual glory, refusing at times even salvation and preferring a life of service and love.

This epic contains the lives of the three *Tēvāram* hymnologists, treated with epic grandeur bringing out the importance of the hymns and their message and also every episode in their life. These stories are unparalleled in Tamil literature.

8. MINOR POETRY

The Ninety-six Varieties of Poetic Compositions

General

The Tamil tradition later came to believe that the literary poetic compositions were of ninety-six kinds. This tradition is probably as old as the sixteenth century.[1] This number, popular as the total number of *tatvas* or elements in a human body, was probably chosen to show that there were varieties of literary composition nearing a hundred. From the eleventh century, if not earlier, there are works called *Pāṭṭiyals* giving us explanations about a number of these compositions. All these works are agreed on thirty-six varieties; but even the first work now available adds thirty more. More and more varieties are added till in the eighteenth century there is an attempt to arrive somehow at the figure ninety-six, especially by Beschi, who gave us the Tamil Dictionary.[2] The list in that Dictionary is not the same as the one he gives in his *Toṉṉūl,* his grammar of Tamil in Tamil verse with a commentary.

These *Pāṭṭiyals* give some astrological explanation of words and metres as being auspicious and unauspicious with reference to the nativity star and the caste of the patron on whom a poem is composed. This poetic tradition of astrological convention is not accepted by the commentators like Nacciṉākkiṉiyar, probably because it is not even hinted at in *Tolkāppiyam.*[3] The later poetic astrological traditions however speak of two of their branches, one coming from Akattiyar and the other from Intirakāḷiyar, each of whom seem to have written works expounding this tradition. The old

1. Civentu eḻunta Pallavarāyaṉ Ulā of 1535 A.D.
2. Beschi, Catur Akarāti.
3. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary on Pattu-p-paṭṭu, Malaipaṭukaṭām 1.145.

commentators refuse to accept that any of this tradition is ancient or valid, or that Akattiyar of the *Pāṭṭiyal* was the ancient sage of that name.[4]

There are many literary works differentiated by the number of verses they contain, viz. 5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 30, 40, 100, and 400. The varieties of metre also come in for further classification. Often verse forms like *tāṇṭakam, tēvapāṇi* and also the various *viruttams* including *cantaviruttam*, often called *vaṇṇam* and *tiru-p-pukal̲*, come to increase the number of literary compositions.

The context of the dramatic monologues becomes the basis of further classification. One or the other of the larger five-fold aspects of poetry, especially *pur̲am* poetry, becomes an individual category. Similarly certain ideas of the hymns of Āl̲vārs and Nāyan̲mārs like the description of the parts of the image or divine form (*pātāti kēcam*, "foot to the crown") developed into independent literary compositions. The conception of *kīl̲-k-kaṇakku* and the conception, corresponding to this, of looking upon the eight anthologies and *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* together as another group of eighteen called *Mēr̲ kaṇakku* enter this list.

The Kings become very important, giving rise to a number of court poems. *Prasasti* or *Mey-k-kīrtti* ("the fame") contains a description of the activities and victories of the ruling King often prefixed to the grants and inscriptions. *Tacāṅkam* and *Cin̲n̲appū* describe the ten royal insignia, namely, the law, country, city, river, symbolic garland, horse, elephant, victorious drum, mountain, and royal weapon. The poem on the eight auspicious things to be seen by the King, the song on the King's anniversary, King's nativity song, and the song announcing the time of the day to the king must have become important part to get into the list of literary compositions.[5]

4. *Ibid.*
5. The names are Aṭṭamaṅkalam, Perumaṅkalam, cātakam, kaṭikai veṇpā,

The folk-song motif becomes important in poetry. The swing-song, the erotic songs on the mountain lass, the fisher woman, the shepherdess, the huntress, the woman of the cultivator class, the Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite nun, and the *akam* songs of the various seasons of the year become independent literary categories.[6]

The pre-occupation with numbers seems to be a poetic game, apparently holding a great fascination for the Tamilians. Mention has been made of the religious poets referring to mere numbers, probably because the tradition had attached some significance to these numbers. Even now in shops and markets, when the vendors try to speak of the price, without the purchaser knowing it, they follow the reverse process. If the poet used the number four to denote the vedas, the vendors use "veda" for denoting four.

A similar interest is shown by the poets in arranging these significant numbers either in the ascending or in the descending order, or first in the ascending and then in the descending order. Even saints like Campantar and Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār indulge in this. In *Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai*, the whole poem is thus arranged in the form of a *ratha* or chariot.[7]

The third kind of interest in numbers is exhibited by the poets composing verses up to a specified number. There are poems of five verses, reminding us of five precious gems, or of nine verses, reminding of the nine gems.[8] The number ten is of greater frequency (*pattu* or *patikam* or *orupā orupaḵtu*).

Hundred is the next popular number. We have *kalampakams*, *antātis* and *mālais* each of a hundred verses, all suggesting the idea of a garland. *Akam* verses, as in the Caṅkam anthologies, still prefer 400. But *Kallāṭam*, probably

6. The names are ūcal, kuṟatti-p-pāṭṭu, valaicci, iṭaicci, maṟam, uḻatti-p-pāṭṭu, koṟṟiyār, picciyār.
7. Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai: Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai (Nakkīratēvar).
8. The examples are Pañcarattiṉamālai, Navarattiṉamālai, etc.

belonging to the period of Pandya revival, has only 100 *akam* verses. Here there is no *antāti.*

Catakam comes late in the field, if we leave out of account the early *Tiru-c-catakam* of *Tiruvācakam.* These have hundred verses each consisting of ethical ideas, usually ending with the name of a God. (See *Kumarēca catakam, Aṟappalīcura catakam,* etc.). As contrasted with *Tiru-c-catakam* they do not have *antati* arrangement. Perhaps this revival of an interest in *catakam* is due to the Telugu influence of the Vijayanagar period.

These verses, often linked together like a necklace or a garland, are often in what is called the *antāti* arrangement, already explained.

Even in the Caṅkam age compositions were named after their metre. In some cases the whole of the book is in the same metre. Perhaps this is more frequent, and from this point of view *kaṭṭaḷai-k-kali-t-tuṟai* metre is considered to be majestic whilst *veṇpā* metre comes next in importance. *Viruttam* however is the metre of this age. The unique beauty of the composition is shown by the richness of the variety. Necklaces are made of two or three or four alternating gems and named after these varying patterns. The total number of each kind of alternating gem is ten. Therefore, if one has two kinds of alternating metres the total number of verses is twenty. If there are three metres, the total is thirty, and if four the total is forty. We have seen that the number of verses is fifty, seventy, hundred or hundred and fifty in *Patiṉeṇkīḻ-k-kaṇakku,*[9] but with no alternating metres.

In the age of *Patiṉeṇkīḻ-k-kaṇakku,* the ethical tradition of speaking in terms of curing the moral diseases or imperfections gave rise to a fashion of naming the literary compositions after the popular medicines, such as *Ēlāti, Ciṟupañca-*

9. The examples are Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu, Aintiṇai Eḻupatu, Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu, etc.

mūlam and *Tirikaṭukam*. In the succeeding age, the names of poems such as *kōvai, mālai* (garland or necklace) *nāṉmaṇi* (four gems) *mummaṇi* (three gems) *Iraṭṭaimaṇi* (two gems) *pañcarattiṉam* (five gems) *navarattiṉam* (nine gems) imply a more joyful attitude towards life, God Himself coming to be spoken of as a gem (*maṇiyē*).[10] The importance of the beauty of the poetry as a whole rather than its ethical conception becomes clear. It is true that *nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭikai* ("necklace of four gems") occurs as the name of a book in the earlier age, but there again the four gems are the four ethical concepts expressed in every verse.

The Eleventh Book of the Śaivite Canon

This pre-occupation with numbers, perhaps learnt from the Jains or rather from the Sāṅkhyas, was made much more interesting in the second half of the first millenium. An idea of this period from this point of view can be had from the eleventh book of the Śaivite canonical poetry. This anthology was made probably after the time of Nampiyāṇṭār-nampi, the Tamil Vyāsa, for his poems are included in this book. Nampiyāṇṭārnampi is said to be responsible for collecting *Tēvāram* hymns and classifying them into seven *tirumuṟais*, the word *muṟai* meaning a book. The classification into seven books was on the basis of musical tunes. Campantar's hymns were collected into Books one to three, Appar's into Books four to six and Cuntarar's into Book seven. Perhaps Māṇikkavācakar's *Tiruvācakam* and *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār* were added only later as the eighth book for these are not musical compositions. But this is not to deny that Nampiyāṇṭār might have made this collection on a different basis; for Nampi refers to Māṇikkavācakar in very reverential terms.

Nampi belongs to the last part of the ninth and early part of the tenth century. He speaks of the King Ātittaṉ as

10. Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai: Mummaṇi-k-kōvai 9 [Paṭṭiṉattār] [for instance].

having brought gold from the Koṅku country and as having covered the temple hall at Citamparam with that gold.[11] We know that the Cola king Āttitaṉ conquered the Koṅku country and that he ruled between 870 and 907 A.D. Since this poet speaks also of the death of this King he must have survived him.[12]

The ninth book of the Śaivite canon consists of songs probably sung in the Cola temples as musical compositions or *icai-p-pā* in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As some of the poets like Karuvūr-t-tēvar, the contemporary of Rājarāja I, came later than Nampi, the latter could not be responsible for that collection. The tenth Book is Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram,* which is older than Cuntarar of the seventh and eighth centuries. The twelfth book is the *Periyapurāṇam* of Cekkiḻār who belongs to the twelfth century. Therefore the canonical books from the eighth to the twelfth seem to have been made at different times or all at once at a later date.

The usage of the word *muṟai,* meaning a book is found in Cēkkiḻar's *Periyapurāṇam.* Even there, there is no reference to the *Tēvāram* hymns in terms of *Tirumuṟai.* In the fourteenth century the poets Iraṭṭaiyar speak of the work of each of the *Tēvāram* writers and of Māṇikkavācakar as *Tirumuṟais.* No earlier reference is found to this word in this sense, though the story describing the collection of the canonical Śaivite poetry in a *purāṇa* form is ascribed to Umāpati Civam, a poet and philosopher of the fourteenth century. From this it will be clear that after the collection of the ten *Tirumuṟais* people must have felt that the works on Śiva, other than *Tēvāram* considered to be older than their generation, should also find a place in the canonical works. The eleventh book is the result. The table below gives the names of authors and their works as found included in the twelve *Tirumuṟais.*

11. *Ibid.,* Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai: Tiru-t-toṇṭar Tiruvantāti 65 [Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi].
12. *Ibid.,* 82.

No. of the Tirumuṟai	Author	Name of the Work
1.	Campantar	Tēvāram I
2.	„	„ II
3.	„	„ III
4.	Tirunāvukkaracar	„ IV
5.	„ „	„ V
6.	„ „	„ VI
7.	Cuntarar	„ VII
8. a.	Māṇikkavācakar	*Tiruvācakam*
b.	„ „	*Tiru-k-kōvaiyār*
9. a.	Tirumāḷikai-t-tēvar	Four *patikams* in *Tiruvicai-p-pā*
b.	Cēntaṉār	Three „ „ „
c.	Karuvuṟ-t-tēvar	Ten „ „ „
d.	Pūnturutti nampi kāṭava nampi	Two „ „ „
e.	Kaṇṭarātittar	One *patikam* „ „
f.	Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ	One „ „ „
g.	Tiruvāliyamutaṉār	Four *patikams* „ „
h.	Puruṣōttama nampi	Two „ „ „
i.	Cētirāyar	One *patikam* „ „ and *Tiru-p-pallāṇṭu*
10.	Tirumūlar	*Tirumantiram*
11. a.	Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār	*Tirumuka-p-pācuram*
b.	Kāraikkāl ammaiyār	*Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu mūtta tiru-p-patikam*
		Tiruviraṭṭai maṇimālai
		Aṟputa-t-tiruvantāti
c.	Aiyaṭikaḷkāṭavar kōṉ	*Kṣēttira-t-tiruveṇpā*
d.	Cēramāṉ perumāḷ	*Poṉvaṇṇattantāti*
		Tiruvārur mummaṇi-k-kōvai
		Tiru-k-kayilāya ñāṉa ulā
e.	Nakkīra tēvar	*Kayilai pāti kāḷatti pāti antāti*
		Tiru īṅkōymalai eḻupatu
		Tiru valañcuḻi mummaṇi-k-kōvai.
		Tiru eḻukūṟṟirukkai
		Peruntēva pāṇi
		Kōpa-p-piracātam
		Kāreṭṭu
		Pōṟṟi-t-tiru-k-kali veṇpā
		Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai
		Tirukkaṇṇappa tēvar tirumaṟam
f.	Kallāṭa tēvar	*Tirukkaṇṇappa tēvar tirumaṟam*
g.	Kapila tēvar	*Mūtta nāyaṉār tiru iraṭṭai maṇimālai*
		Civaperumāṉ „ „
		Civaperumāṉ tiruvantāti

No. of the Tirumurai	Author	Name of the Work
h.	Paraṇa tēvar	*Civaperumaṉ tiruvantāti*
i.	Iḷamperumāṉaṭikaḷ	*Civaperumaṉ tiru mummaṇi-k-kōvai*
j.	Atirāvaṭikaḷ	*Mūtta piḷḷaiyār tiru mummaṇi-k-kōvai*
k.	Paṭṭiṉattaṭikaḷ	*Kōyil nāṉmaṇimalai*
		Tiru-k-kaḻumala mummaṇi-k-kōvai
		Tiruviṭai marutūr mummaṇi-k-kōvai
		Tiru ēkampamuṭaiyār tiruvantāti
		Tiruvoṟṟiyūr orupā oru paḵtu
l.	Nampiyāṇṭār nampi	*Tirunāraiyūr viṉāyakar iraṭṭaimaṇi-mālai*
		Kōyil tiru-p-paṇṇiyar viruttam
		Tiruttoṇṭar tiruvantāti
		Āḷuṭaiya piḷḷaiyār tiruvantāti
		" " *tiru-c-caṇpai viruttam*
		" " *tirumummaṇi-k-kōvai*
		" " *tiruvulāmālai*
		" " *tiru-k-kalampakam*
		" " *tiru-t-tokai*
		Tirunāvukkaracutēvar tiruvēkātaca mālai
12.	Cēkkiḻār	*Periya purāṇam*

There is at the beginning of the eleventh book a verse attributed by a credulous generation to Śiva Himself as addressed by Him to Ceramāṉ. Next come the poems of Kāraikkalammaiyār already referred to. Nakkīrar's *Tiru-murukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* from *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* is here included because it is a complete poem on Murukaṉ, the Śaivite child-god. Here the tradition of names like those of Caṅkam poets (Kapilar, Paraṇar, Kallāṭar and Nakkīrar) still continues. There is confusion about the names which leads to mistakes in identifying the later poets with Caṅkam poets.

The period covered by the eleventh book may be from the sixth to the tenth century. The works are arranged in the order of the traditional age of the authors. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār was earlier than Cuntarar and her poems come first after that alleged to be by Śiva. The verses of Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ follow. Kāṭavarkōṉ refers to any Pallava King. Aṭikaḷ means "His Holiness." This shows that the king had renounced the world. This term Aiyaṭikaḷ may be compared

with Bappaswami occurring in Pallava inscriptions.[13] Paramēsvara Pallava, the father of Rājasimha II, renounced the world and he must be this Aiyaṭikaḷ. Next comes Cēramāṉ the contemporary of Cuntarar. Nakkīrar, Kallāṭar and Paraṇar mentioned here are referred to as the "*Poyyaṭimai-y-illāta pulavar*" by Nampiyāṇṭārnampi.[14] Iḷamperumāṉaṭikaḷ and Atirāvaṭikaḷ here come next. It has been suggested that Iḷamperumāṉāṭikaḷ is no other than Kōṭṭāṟṟu Iḷamperumāṉār of the Centalai inscriptions.[15] All these must precede Paṭṭiṉattār. Paṭṭiṉattār must belong to the period immediately preceding that of Nampiyāṇṭārnampi, for both of them refer to Māṇikkavācakar of the ninth century.[16]

The list of works shows the preoccupation of this age with the literary compositions we are studying (*Antāti, Eḻukuṟṟu irukkai, Ulā, Kalampakam*). The emphasis on numbers may be seen from the names of the works: *Patikam, Orupā orupaḵtu, Iraṭṭaimaṇi mālai, Mummaṇi-k-kōvai, Nāṉmaṇi mālai.* We have here in addition the number eleven in *Ēkātaca malai* ("a garland of eleven verses").[17] There is also *Tirunāma-t-tokai,*[18] the "collection of names" not referred to in *pāṭṭiyals* but becoming popular in modern times in *nāma caṅkīrttaṉam* or the "musical song of names." No wonder *pāṭṭiyals* came to be written during the age of the collection of the eleventh book.

13. Irahatagalli plates of Civakanta Varmaṉ, Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I 2.
 Turai Araṅkaṉār Dr. M. A., The Religion and Philosophy of Tēvāram, p. 13.
14. Tiruppaṇantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai : Tiru-t-toṇṭar Tiruvantāti 49, [Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi].
15. Centalai Inscriptions, Epigraphica Indica Vol. XI 154, Vol. XIII 136.
 Rākava Aiyaṅkār, M., Cācaṉa-t-tamiḻ-k-kavi Caritam, p. 19.
16. Tiruppaṇantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai—Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇi-k-kōvai 28 [Paṭṭiṉattār].
 Ibid., Kōyiṟṟiru-p-paṇṇiyar viruttam 58 [Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi].
17. *Ibid.,* Tirunāvukkaracu tēvar. Tiru ēkātacamālai 452 [Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi].
18. Civañāṉamuṉivar, Tiru-t-toṇṭar Tirunāma-t-tokai.

The poets mentioned above after Cuntarar and before Paṭṭiṉattār try to revive the old literary style. They do not rise up to the expectations raised in our minds by their names, which suggest the glories of the Caṅkam age.

But there are two poems which are exceptions to this conclusion and which show the way in which the literary compositions developed. These are the two poems on Saint Kaṇṇappar, one by Nakkīrar and another by Kallāṭar.[19] Both are called *maṟams,* mentioned in the list of ninety-six compositions. This heading *maṟam* occurs also in other *kalampakams* and also reminds us of the heroism of the Caṅkam age. The songs on clans, (hunters, mountaineers, cultivators) describing their characteristic features through interesting episodes or dramas, develop in the later age, for instance in *Kuṟam, Kuṟavañci,* and *Paḷḷu.* The episode of the life of a hunter or *Maṟavar* is given in these two *maṟams. Maṟam* is heroism; it however; receives a new significance. It is no more the mere recklessness of the warrior on the battlefield, for battle implies a conflict of ideals. The old conception of *maṟam* is no longer accepted in the new philosophy of love. It is now a reverence and love for the ideal, for which one is ready to lay down everything one has including one's life, rather than hurt any human being. It is true we have the conception of Mahāvīra and also the description of Buddha whom Maṇimēkalai praises as "*Māraṉai vellum vīraṉ*",[20] "the hero who conquered the spirit of passions." But even here the conception is that of a moral victory and not of the loving sacrifice.

These two poems narrate the story of Kaṇṇappar, a hunter, who became mad after God at the sight of the symbol of Liṅga and who, when he saw the eyes of the Liṅga bleeding, took out his own eyes to replace them. Even God, we are told, testing him, was deeply moved by this unheard-of heroic self-sacrifice.

19. Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai—Tirukkaṇṇappatēvar Tiru Maṟam [Nakkīratēvar].
Ibid., [Kallāṭar].
20. Cāttaṉār, Maṇimēkalai 11:61.

To make even the testing God shudder at one's self-sacrifice is real *maṟam* or heroism.

Paṭṭiṉattār's poems, as appropriate to the age of *Cintāmaṇi* in which he lived, are written in a grand style, though giving only the message of the Śaivite Nāyaṉmārs expressed by them in a simple language. He described the worship in the temple of his heart. There is a fully developed metaphor speaking of God as the fruit of a precious gem.[21] His poetry is full of captivating similes and charming descriptions. In his poems, in addition to the varieties mentioned, we get hints at the other species of compositions, viz. *pātātikēcam*[22] and *tacāṅkam*.[23] In the latter, the irrevocable order or law of the Lord is described as that which is not hasty, a term found in the inscription of the tenth century — *tiruviraiyā-k-kali*.[24]

The ephemeral nature of the physical pleasures and sufferings of human life are, it is true, painted in darkest colours;[25] but that is only to show the beauty and joy of the spiritual contentment. He is not against righteous and innocent enjoyment nor against the life of wealth if guided by moral principles.[26] He therefore explains that the new school of philosophy has learned to lose none of the pleasures of the world, whilst keeping the mind in communion with God. There are other works attributed to Paṭṭiṉattār but not included in this collection. This must be by a different person with a different message and an easier diction belonging perhaps to the age of Vijayanagar, as may be seen from the use of the Telugu plural suffix — *lu* in the term *pommal āṭṭam*.[27]

21. Tiruppanantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai : Tirukkaḻumala Mummaṇi-k-kōvai 4 [Paṭṭiṉattār].
22. *Ibid.*, Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇi-k-kōvai 1 [Paṭṭiṉattār].
23. *Ibid.*, Kōyil Nāṉmaṇimālai 4 [Paṭṭiṉattār].
24. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII 319.
25. Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai : Kōyil-Nāṉmaṇimālai 27, 32, Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇi-k-kōvai- 16, 22, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā oru paktu—8[Paṭṭiṉattār].
26. *Ibid.*, Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇi-k-kōvai—19 [Paṭṭiṉattār].
27. Paṭṭiṉattār, Paṭṭiṉattār pāṭalkaḷ : potu 21.

The *Purāṇas* and *kāviyas* are also mentioned among the ninety-six varieties. If one leaves out of account all such considerations as metre and number, and also well-known literary compositions like epic poetry and *purāṇas*, certain literary compositions stand out as peculiar to Tamil.

AKAM (INCLUDING AKA-P-PURAM)

Kōvai

The *akam* verses of the Caṅkam age were unconnected monologues. No attempt was made to weave a continuous narrative. The dramatic monologues led to the development of the epic, by something like a combination of monologues. Literary pieces came to be written consisting of a series of speeches of the lovers and the people around them, so as to present a continuous romantic story starting from the first meeting of the lovers and ending with their living together in peace. The illustrative headings of the various *akam* contexts, which were considered in the Caṅkam age as something unconnected, came to be arranged in their historical sequence. This is the difference between the earlier and later poetics.

The first of the latter type is *Iṟaiyaṉār aka-p-poruḷ* often attributed by a credulous generation to God Śiva[28] because the word *Iṟaiyaṉār*, the name of the author, a poet, can be interpreted as God or Śiva. There is an anthology of verses of one single poet, illustrating the *akam* contexts as arranged by *Iṟaiyaṉar aka-p-poruḷ* to show the continuity of the story. It is on a Pandya Prince and therefore called *Pāṇṭi-k-kōvai.* Kōvai, a collection or string of flowers or gems came to be the name of such literary species. It is admittedly on the Pandya Neṭumāṟaṉ converted by Tiruñaṉa Campantar.[29] But Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri thinks that it was composed at a later date on a later Pandya to whom the victories of his predecessors were, according to a well known convention, attributed.[30]

28. Iṟaiyaṉār, Iraiyaṉār Aka-p-poruḷ.
29. Panṭārattār T. V. S., Pāṇṭiyar Varalāṟu, p. 25.
30. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri, The Pandya Kingdom, p. 17.

But it is difficult to believe that minor details and battles which were not of historical importance could be so attributed.

The second great attempt in this line is that of the great Śaivite Saint Māṇikkavācakar of the early ninth century. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, who collected and codified the earlier Saivite works including *Tiruvācakam* and *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār* lived in the early tenth century. Therefore *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār* must be anterior to the period of that collection. Māṇikkavācakar refers to a contemporary Pandya king, Varakuṇaṉ,[31] probably of the early ninth century. Māṇikkavācakar's *kōvai* is held in great veneration; it is called *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār*, with the prefix *tiru*, "sacred" and with the suffix *ār*, the honorific singular generally used for great men but coming to be added also to names of great literary works. It forms part of the Śaivite canonical literature. Reference has been already made to the mystic poetry of these saints. This *kōvai* is also considered to be mystic poetry. Here admittedly there is an implied allegory. This poem expresses the Love of the soul for the Lord. As against the ordinary trend of mystic poetry, in *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār* the lady love is God and the hero is the soul.

One has *kōvais* sung on chieftains. A different version of the poetics of the *akam* verses, came to be written in the period of Kulōttuṅkaṉ III round about the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century.[32] A work conforming to this changed tradition is now the most famous of the later *Kōvais* held by the learned to be next only to *Tiru-k-kōvaiyār*. It is called *Tañcai Vāṇaṉ Kōvai*. Tañcai is not Tanjore but a place in Tenkasi Taluq of Tinnevelly. Poyyāmoḻi-p-pulavar is its author; and various anecdotes like his meeting God Murukaṉ Himself surround his name. The book is on Vāṇaṉ (Bāṇa) a Pandya chieftain who is praised as conquering Colas and Ceras.[33] Bāṇas, a clan of chieftains, moved from the Pallava and Cola country into the Pandya

31. Māṇikkavācakar, Tirukkōvaiyār 306, 327.
32. Nāṟkavirāca Nampi, Nampi Aka-p-poruḷ Viḷakkam.
33. Poyyāmoḻi-p-pulavar, Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai.

country only in the thirteenth century. It is known that the Pandya king Caṭaiya Varmaṉ Cuntara Pandya (1251-1271) and Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkaraṉ (1271-1311) who succeeded him fought with the Ceras and Colas[34] and therefore the Vāṇaṉ, the patron of our poet, might have been a chieftain of any one of these two in the 13th century. The commentary on this work actually divides the events referred to in the monologues into a number of successive days. This *kōvai* is great for translating the Caṅkam monologues, so to say, into the language of the poet's age. It is full of similes and other figures of speech which have become popular by the time of its author.

There have been hundreds of *kōvai* from that age to this day, both on chieftains and the deities of the temples. According to the tradition the hero of the *kōvai* story is never named. It is the patron in whose country the story takes place that is always mentioned.[35]

There is another aspect of later literature which is common to all arts in India — its poetry, music, architecture, iconography and painting. There is, to start with, an original artistic creation. It is upheld as the standard for others; but soon it becomes a conventionalised motif. It is not that there is no originality in the subsequent productions. Originality, however, is shown only in the details. For instance, there is the final and successful artistic creation of Naṭarāja after various earlier attempts. But later on, this icon is more or less conventionalised and held as the holy standard with varying but well defined dimensions as described in the Silpa Sāstras. However, there follow minor changes, in the sweep of the matlock of the hair, in the height of the leg held up, in the swing of the left hand, and in the expressions of the joy in the face. These symbolise different degrees of the joyful dance of the Lord. But these will be clear only to one who knows the tradition and who studies the icons at closer

34. Paṇṭārattār, T. V. S., Pāṇṭiyar Varalāṟu, pp. 53, 54.
35. Poyyāmoḻi-p-pulavar, Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai [for instance].

quarters. The same thing happens in poetry. There are changes in the minor details, in the wordings, in similes, and even in the sentiments expressed; what is serious in one author becomes humorous in another author. But who will have the patience to go through these hundreds of repetitions? The *Kōvai* consists of four hundred verses, each on one of the four hundred contexts of ideal love poetry; but some poets composed four hundred verses on any one of the four hundred contexts.[36]

Tūtu

Tūtu, the poetry of love's embassy has become very popular amongst the later day poets. In Caṅkam literature, we find the heroine in a context of despair giving expression to her feeling of desolation by addressing the birds, bees, and begging them sometimes to go and bring the hero.[37] But there is the other context where as a true ambassador of love and family peace, the musician—a man or a woman-often goes to the battlefield or to the prostitute's house where the hero is staying.[38] These two contexts are combined together and elaborated on a large scale, perhaps, influenced by Kālidāsa's *Mēghasandesa*. But it is difficult to say that any of these attempts come to the level of Kālidāsa's poem. That is because in the later works the praise of the patron or God becomes much more important whilst the *Tūtu* proper comes only as a cloak. The name of the lover is mentioned in these poems, as against the old tradition. There, in addition to *akam* and *puṟam*, a third category of *aka-p-puṟan* is recognised as characterising these poems.

This was later used as an allegory by the philosophic and religious poets where they send their own heart as the messenger of their love to their lover-God or their Master. The first great work of this kind is from the mystic and

36. Amirtakavirāyar, Oru tuṟai-k-kōvai.
37. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, Piṉṉattūr (Ed.), Naṟṟiṇai 54, 70, 102.
38. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār, N. M. (Ed.), Akanāṉūṟu 244.
Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Aiṅkuṟunūṟu 140.

philosophical poet Umāpaticivam of the fourteenth century.[39] This is followed by other mystic and philosophical poets like Tattuvarāyar, of the fourteenth century,[40] and Civa-p-pirakācar of the seventeenth century.[41] In praising the patrons in later *tūtus*, the emphasis on love becomes less and less and the poetic effort is turned towards singing the glory of the particular kind of ambassador of love as against others. Mythological stories, traditions, beliefs, and later, more and more puns are used to establish this supremacy of the particular ambassador of love. We get a variety of ambassadors, bee,[42] parrot,[43] cloud,[44] *teṉṟal*,[45] or southern wind, coin,[46] paddy,[47] and even Tamil.[48] The last will clearly show where the interest of the poet lies. *Viṟali Viṭu Tūṭu* ("the embassy of the danseuse") becomes popular in the decadent age. In later days, we have the cold rice or the tobacco coming as such an ambassador.[49] Love itself is forgotten and we have the shoe and finally the Lord of Death sent not to the lover but to the enemy.[50]

Ulā

Ulā is also connected with love, though not the ideal love. Here the patron or God goes in procession around the streets of the city, and the women of varying ages from five to forty fall in love with him. Their love is not returned. Who these women are, is a great puzzle. One explanation is that they are all public women. The distinction into seven stages of womanhood does not occur in the Caṅkam poetry or in Sanskrit. It seems to be an elaboration of suggestions found in Caṅkam poetry and the Sanskrit *Kāmasāstra.*

39. Umāpaticivam, Neñcu viṭu Tūtu.
40. Tattuvarāyar, Neñcu viṭu Tūtu.
41. Civappirakācar, Civaññāṉapāḷaiyar Neñcu viṭu Tūtu.
42. to 50. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Introduction to Aḻakar Kiḷḷai viṭu Tūtu (See there all the following names of Tūtus). Vaṇṭu viṭu tūtu, Kiḷḷai viṭu tūtu, Mēka viṭu tūtu, Teṉṟal viṭu tūtu, Paṇam viṭu tūtu, Nel viṭu tūtu, Tamiḻ viṭu tūtu, Paḻaiyatu viṭu tūtu, Pukaiyilai viṭu tūtu, Ceruppu viṭu tūtu, Maṟali viṭu tūtu.

The earliest *Ulā* by a Cera King, Cēramāṉ perumāḷ nāyaṉār, a contemporary of Cuntarar of the eighth century, is called *Tiru-k-kayilāya ñāṉa ulā* because it is believed to have been published on Mount Kailas. It is also known as *āti ulā* or the ancient or the first *ulā*, which makes Cēramāṉ perumāḷ nāyaṉār, the inventor of this new kind of *prabandha*, though some will hold that *ūroṭu tōṟṟam* in *Talkāppiyam*[51] refers to this kind of literature. The name *Ñaṉa Ulā*,[52] the *ulā* of spiritual wisdom, is intriguing. But we have seen that the saints and mystics use erotic language with an allegorical significance of great spiritual importance. The spiritually minded man has to go through seven stages of mental development, which are often called seven worlds, *eḻu nilam* or *sapta bhūmi*.[53] It is for consideration whether these seven stages are in the minds of those who describe this as *Ñāṉa Ulā*. This is another complication in later Tamil poetry—the spiritual significance coming very often in the interpretation of poetry. In the poets like Tattuvarāyar, the spiritual significance has to be accepted. In the poems of the *Siddhas* or the eclectic mystics, the spiritual significance is much more patent and almost the centre of he poems.

The poetic importance of this kind of literature consists in being true to the varying ages of women falling in love with God or the patron; and in creating dramatic situations, preparing for these women falling thus in love with the hero. The child, for instance, is playing the game of the mother and when asked replies that Śiva is the father of her toy, implying that He is her own husband.[54] At that juncture, the procession of Śiva comes before her and the child cries for Him whilst the procession moves on. Those who are older have their own hobbies and games and at an appripriate juncture come to enter the procession, their passion being kindled according to their age and experience.

51. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam, III, 2.83.
52. Cēramāṉperumāḷ, Tirukkayilāya Ñāṉa Ulā.
53. Tāṇṭavarāya Cuvāmikaḷ, Kaivalya Navanītam 28. (See for the description of Sabtha Bhūmi).
54. Ceramāṉ perumāḷ, Tirukkayilāya Ñāṉa Ula: Kaṇṇi—83, 84.

The three great *ulās* are by Oṭṭa-k-kūttar praising his patrons, Vikkirama Cōḻaṉ, Kulōttuṅkkaṉ II and Rājarājaṉ II.[55] The poet is at his best in those respects, in which the *ulā* has to be poetic and dramatic. We have an endless series of *ulās* in the later period.

Maṭal

Another literary composition on love is called *maṭal.* In Caṅkam literature itself we have references to the possibilities of a lover committing suicide when his love is not returned. In *Kali-t-tokai*, we get detailed descriptions of an unfortunate lover besmearing himself with ashes, wearing the garlands of *erukkam* flowers, holding in his right hand the portrait of the lady whom he loves and being dragged round whilst he is seated on a horse made of the sword-like palmyra branches.[56] This in motion will cut through his body. In *akam* poetry, there is merely a threat to perform this ritual.

The poet Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār, however, makes this threat come from a woman. The woman is the soul in love with God. The Āḻvār himself feels this threat by a woman is unknown to the Tamil Land and therefore appeals to the story of Vācavatattai[57] going on her own accord in search of her husband Utayaṇaṉ. Even according to the philosophy of this Āḻvār, God the lover should come to save the soul; but the soul is so evolved as to bear no separation any more and hankers, if one may use the word, after the Lord; and this may be described as running after Him.

This motif is used by Tattuvarāyar and others for expressing their love towards their Guru.[58] This literary motif came to be used in an obscene way in the decadent

55. Oṭṭakkūttar, Mūvar Ulā.
56. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Kalittokai—138.
57. *Ibid.*, Tivya Pirapantam: Ciṟu-t-tirumaṭal kaṇṇi 32 (Tirumaṅkaimaṉṉaṉ).
58. Tattuvarāyar, Kali Maṭal.

age.[59] A ew and glorious use, however, has been made of this conception of *maṭal* by Kiruṣṇa Piḷḷai of the 19th and 20th century. He speaks of Christ's crucifixion as *Maṭa-lēṟutal*, sacrificing himself for his love for us all.[60] Here is indeed a flash of original poetic imagination bringing out the underlying idea of crucifixion in terms of a convention of *akam* poetry.

PURAM

Piḷḷai-k-kavi, Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ or Piḷḷai-t-tirunāmam

Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ, the "Tamil of childhood", is another popular type of literature. This is in praise of childhood in all its varying stages whether the child be a male or a female. It starts singing of the child from its third month, when usually we have the prayer offered for the child's welfare; then follow the song of the wavy movements of the body of the child forwards and backwards or sideways, the lullaby, the song of clapping hands, the song of kisses, the welcome song and the song of the moon, requesting it to come down to appease the child crying for the moon. These songs are common to both sexes. But if the child is a male, there are in addition the song of the kettledrum, the song of the childish prank of brushing aside the toy houses built by the female children and the song of the toy-cart. If the child is a female, we have any three of the followig: the song of the swing, the song of the bath, the song of toy-houses, the song of throwing up and catching seeds or other such things.[61]

As one poet states "even when singing of the omnipotent divinity it is more charming and enchanting to sing of it as a child".[62] Love towards a child is the innocent joy of self-

59. Cantra Cēkar Kavirāja Paṇṭitar (Ed.), Varuṇakulātittaṉ Ulā Maṭal.

60. Kiruṣṇa Piḷḷai, Iraṭcaṇiya yāttirīkam.

61. The names are Nīrāṭal, Ciṟṟil Iḻaittal, Kaḻaṅku.

62. Civañāṉa Muṉivar, Amutāmpikai Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ—1.

lessness. In that mood, poetry becomes sincere and captivates any heart.

Though people read a reference to this kind of literature in *Tolkāppiyam,*[63] the real father of this kind of poetry is the great Vaiṣṇava saint Periyāḻvār.[64]

In his poetry this type of literature has not become conventionalised into the ten sages of childhood. The poet describes Kriṣṇa's nativity. It is interesting to note that the Āḻvār makes Tiru-k-kōṭṭiyūr in Tamil land the birth place of Kriṣṇa.[65] This is how the Tamil saints and poets make every mythology a Tamil one.

Then follow twenty verses showing the beautiful and captivating gestures of the various parts of this child. The lullaby follows. The song of calling the moon succeeds. Next only come the song of the movement of the child and the song of clapping hands. This arrangement is much more natural against the other order of placing the lullaby at a later stage. The song of the trial and error in walking is true to nature;[66] the song of the mother, requesting the child to catch hold of her, behind her back, is something known to all Tamil mothers though it is missing in the conventional poetry. There are also the song of hide-and-seek, the song of nursing, the song of piercing the lobes of the ears, and the song of oil-bath, all so graphically described, almost with a mother's heart.[67] There is the calling of the crow to draw away the attention of the child from the pain of combing its hair and requesting the crow to bring a stick for Kriṣṇa to take the calves for grazing.[68] *Kāppu* or safeguarding the child against the evil eye, comes in here appropriately

63. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam.
64. Murray and Co. (Ed.), Tivya Pirapantam: Periyāḻvār. Tirumoḻi.
65. *Ibid.,* Kaṇṇan Tiruvavatāram.
66. *Ibid.,* Taḷarnaṭai-p-paruvam.
67. *Ibid.,* Puṟam pulkal, Tāy Pāluṇṇa Aḻaittal, Kātu kuttal, Nīrāṭṭam.
68. *Ibid.,* Kuḻal vāra-k-kākkaiyai vā eṉal, kōl koṇṭu vā eṉal.

enough.[69] There is also the song of the neighbours complaining to the mother of the childish pranks of Kriṣṇa.[70]

It is this natural outpouring of the heart of a mother in Periyāḻvār's poems that has become conventionalised in later poetry. We do catch a glimpse of this innocent but divine love in the works of Kumarakuruparar. But his diction is not the simple diction of Periyāḻvār. Kumarakuruparar has sung of god with love and reverence and with an incomparable joy, worshipping him in the form of the divine child Murukaṉ and in the form of the divine mother in her childhood, Mīṉākṣi. He was an ascetic, but probably enjoyed the beauties of the life of a child. But here the child is always a divine child. He speaks of the universal destruction and creation and other miraculous acts as the childish pranks of god.[71] Therefore, from the world of childhood he takes us to the world of the divine child and the divine mother. The language describing these divine acts is naturally majestic and grand.

Poets have used this literary motif for describing their patrons. Oṭṭakkūttar has composed a *piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ* on Kulottuṅkaṉ II, in a style of grandeur which he has developed. Perhaps this king was his student as tradition tells us, and there is therefore a certain amount of endearment and love towards the patron in this poem.[72] But over and above this, is the description of the greatness of this Cola and his predecessors. Perhaps Oṭṭakkuttar's is the first conventionalised *piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ* and we do not have any *piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ* praising a King after him.

The philosophers and mystics like Tattuvarāyar and Civappirakācar have not failed to make use of this literary

69. *Ibid.*, Kāppiṭal.

70. *Ibid.*, Āyar Maṅkaiyar Muṟaiyīṭu.

71. Kumarakuruparar, Kumarakuruparar Pirapantaṅkaḷ 16.

72. Oṭṭakkūttar, Kulōttuṅkan Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.

motif for praising their Guru;[73] for saints are said to be like the children all the world over.

The various authors have come to sing in praise of the deities of the various temples. Even Muslims have a number of *piḷḷai-t-tamiḻs* on their Holy Prophet and their saints.[74]

Paraṇi

Paraṇi is another important literary genre which is very popular in the Cola period. It is war poetry. It is said that this kind of composition could be sung only on a hero who conquered seven hundred or a thousand elephants on the battlefield. *Paraṇi* (*Bharaṇi*) is the name of a constellation of stars whose presiding deity is the Goddess of war. In the Caṅkam age, one has reference to the ghost especially in the description of the battlefield. One of such descriptions was called *Kaḷavēḷvi* or "battle sacrifice", where the ghosts feeding on the corpses get their feasts.[75] Without this recouping power in nature which ultimately assimilates to itself the corpses, destructive war will become complete annihilation of life. Kāḷi surrounded by the ghosts is the scavenging mother, cleaning and purifying this world for Her children. These poems never forget to emphasise the motherhood of Kāḷi.[76] Righteous war, in spite of its destruction, is a necessary kind of pruning. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, as already pointed out, sings the divine dance on the burning ghat—the dance which has a spiritual significance. All these secondary associations arise in these war poems.

Reference has been made to a poem *Kaḷavaḻi*, included among the eighteen ethical works. It is a description of the battlefield. The *Kaḷavaḻi* has become one of the kinds of

73. Tattuvarāyar, Corūpāṉantar Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.
Civappirakācar, Civañāṉapālaiyar cuvamikaḷ Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.
74. Ceyyitu aṉapiya cākipu, Napi Nāyakam Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.
Apturraahīm, Muslim Tamiḻ-p-pulavarkaḷ Appendix 2, p. 2, 3 (see for other poets).
75. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu 368.
76. Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi.

literary composition included in ninety-six *Prabhandhas*. *Prasasti* writing becomes the popular art among some of the poets. In *prasasti* or the praise of the king, his genealogy along with the various achievements of his predecessors are given in verses at the beginning of the copper plate grants, made by Pallava and the Cola Kings. This also finds a place in *paraṇi* poetry.[77]

The work called *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* describes a military expedition against Takaṭūr, the capital of chieftain Atiyamāṉ. This kind of description of a military expedition also forms a part of *paraṇi*.

Paraṇi poetry is in this way a crowning glory of all these varying developments of different kinds of literary endeavours. In the eleventh century, the Colas won decisive victories over the Calukyas in various battles such as Kūṭal Caṅkamam and Koppam. Each of these battles was celebrated in a *paraṇi*,[78] though these are not now available.

Later *paraṇis* came to be named after the country into which the expedition of conquest was led: for example, *Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi* and *Kaliṅka-p-paraṇi*.[79]

Kulōttuṅkaṉ I, through his commander Karuṇākara-t-toṇṭaimāṉ led an expedition against the Kaliṅga country and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. This is the subject matter of *Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi* by the poet Ceyaṅkoṇṭār. This is the most popular and famous *paraṇi* in the Tamil land. The poem starts with prayers to deities. The poet addresses thereafter the women of the harem, requesting them to open the doors to lisen to his poetry of war and to welcome their

77. *Ibid.*, 8, Irācapāramapariyam.
78. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 298. *S.I.I.* Vol. V, 644. Vikkirama Cōlaṉ Ulā 21, 22 Rājarājaṉ Ulā—23, 25.
79. Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi. Kulōttuṅkaṉ II defeated Aṉantapatmaṉ of North Kaliṅkam.
Oṭṭakkūttar, Kaliṅka-p-paraṇi, Vikkiramaṉ defeated Vīmaṉ of South Kaliṅkam (See Takkayāka-p-paraṇi, 776 and its commentary).

lovers, the heroes returning victoriously from the war. This part of the poem is sensuous. The scene changes to the desert in mid-summer. The temple of Kāḷi therein is graphically described.[80] She holds her court where the ghosts praise her. A repentant offender of a ghost returns to Kāḷi to beg Her pardon and to show Her the wonderful magic it has learnt during the period of its ostracism. Here one has the royal court of the Mother, a transformation of Cola court of that age.[81] The ghost narrates a dream of a feast. Other ghosts describe the good omens they have seen. They complain to the Mother of their hunger which remains unsatisfied for a long time because of the absence of any war. There is joy in the hope that the good omens of the dream are coming true. The enemy, the Kaliṅga king, fails to attend the court of the patron Kulōttuṅkaṉ with tribute. This leads to an expedition being sent by the Cola. Here the opportunity is taken to describe the genealogy of the Cola King and the victories of his predecessors. Next follows an account of the expedition. The proud enemies see only ill omens. The battle ensues and the Cola commander returns victorious. Kāḷi goes on a personal visit to the battle-field. The feast of corpses on the battle-field is prepared and distributed amongst the ghosts.

Here we have the elaboration of the tradition of *kaḷavēḷvi* and *kaḷavaḻi*.[82] The ghosts are artistically brought together. There is a satire on the various types of people of that age, who are slyly represented as ghosts on this battlefields.[83] This kind of poetry is unique as having for its theme the ugliness represented by the ghost. But these ghosts are human to the core, giving room for harmless satire in which all could join and laugh unconsciously even against themselves. A peculiar metre has been developed with in-

80. Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi 4. Kōyil pāṭiyatu.

81. *Ibid.*, 7, Intiracālam.

82. *Ibid.*, 13, Kūḻāṭutaḷ.

83. *Ibid.*, 63-66.

finite variations, a metre which will echo the varying movements of the war. This is a development of the old *tāḻicai* of two lines.

Oṭṭakkūttar sang of another expedition to Kaliṅga by the Cola Prince Vikkiramaṉ in the beginning of the twelfth century. But that is not now available. He has developed a style full of exaggerations, Sanskrit compounds and difficult varieties of metres.[84] He must have felt that this ultra grand style becomes nothing but an unnatural exaggeration when applied to the description of ordinary battles which are becoming less and less glorious and less and less frequent. Therefore he conceives the idea of making use of this style to sing the glories of the universal fight between the good and the evil. The evil takes the form of egotism and power intoxication. The good assumes the omnipotent force full of righteous indignation and vehemence in destroying the evil and punishing all those who are on the side of evil.[85] The battle is thus raised to the universal and eternal level where the struggle and final victory will always appeal to the human mind.

This is the significance he probably reads into the story of Dakṣa, the son of Brahma who became the ruler of the universe, and the father-in-law of Śiva Himself. Dakṣa desires to take revenge on Śiva for carrying away his daughter Dakṣayaṇi and marrying her without his permission. He arranges for a sacrifice and refuses to invite Śiva, even though his daughter comes to him and entreats him to do so. All others throng to the sacrifice, afraid of the powers of Dakṣa. The righteous power of punishment takes the form of Vīrabhadra and His wife Kāḷi. They march and destroy the sacrifice. The ghosts enjoy the incomparable feast. The proud Dakṣa is revived humorously enough to appear before us thoroughly transformed with the head of a foolish and

84. Cāmināta Aiyar Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Takkayāka-p-paraṇi: preface comments on the book p. XXXII.
85. Oṭṭakkūttar, Takkayāka-p-paraṇi (as a whole).

innocent goat. In describing such a universal conflagration, our poet's ultra grand style becomes a proper vehicle. But this can never be a living style for the succeeding generation. Instead of the wonderful magic performance in the court of Kāḷi, as found in *Kaliṅkattu-p-paraṇi,* one has here the narration of the story of Campantar.[86] As we learn from the inscription of Tiruvattiyūr this narration of the story of the Tamil saints was the fashion of he day. The worship of Kāḷi according to the *tantras* was probably popular in that age, and he makes use of this mythology as the best background for his poem. He was rightly called, because of this poem, Kavi-c-cakkaravartti 'the emperor of poetry', and Kavirākṣataṉ 'the giant of poetry'. But because of its artificiality his style could not survive.

Nobody after him could have sung a *paraṇi* on a battlefield. The Vaiṣṇavites sang on the similar universal conflict represented by the mad ravings of the power intoxicated Hiraṇya who is proceeding to kill his own son Prahlāda, when, to save this *bhakta* of a boy, the universal power of punishment springs forth miraculously from a pillar in the shape of a man-lion.[87] But this poem does not rise to the epic grandeur of *Takkayāka-p-paraṇi* of Oṭṭakkūttar. The story of Subrahmaṇya fighting against an *Asura* is the subject matter of another *paraṇi.*[88] But all these pale into insignificance by the side of the earlier *paraṇis.* This motif is however used by the mystic philosophers like Tattuvarāyar to describe the spiritual conflict with ignorance or sin and their final destruction at the hands of a Guru.[89]

The philosophical and religious debates were described with an epic grandeur in *Kuṇṭalakēci* and *Nīlakēci* already referred to. The victors in all these cases are women. In the Jain epics, *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūlamaṇi,* the final spiritual

86. *Ibid.,* 6, Kōyilai-p-pāṭiyatu 34-86.
87. Iraṇiyaṉvatai-p-paraṇi. (See Centamiḻ, Vol. 15, 16).
88. Tiruccentūr-p-paraṇi (see Centamiḻ, Vol. 28).
89. Tattuvarāyar, Mōkavatai-p-paraṇi, Aññavatai-p-paraṇi.

perfection reached by the heroes after a period of internal conflict and tension against passions and temptations is beautifully described by the poets in terms of war and final vicory. Apart from this Tamil tradition one had to take note of the influence of the allegorical vedantic drama by Krișņa Misra, called *Prabhōda Candrōdaya* ("The rising of the moon of knowledge"). This dawn of wisdom is really the final victory over ignorance. In the fourteenth century as against this Vedantic allegory, the great Vetāntatēcikar, the great Vaișņavite scholar, wrote an allegorical drama of his philosophy called *Caṅkalpa sūryōdhaya.*

In the same century, Tattuvarāyar made use of indigenous *paraṇi* for giving his philosophical and mystic message in two of his works *Mōka vatai-p-paraṇi* and *Aññavatai-p-paraṇi*

In the 17th century the allegorical drama of Krișņa Misra was rendered into a Tamil epic by Mātai Tiruvēṅkaṭanātaṉ. He was a patron of a poet Vaittiyanāta nāvalar, who is said according to some tradition to be the real author of this epic. In any case Vaittiyanāta nāvalar, a Saiva Siddhāntin, has given us, perhaps benefited by his knowledge of this epic and by the close study of Tattuvarāyar's *paraṇi*, the *Pācavatai-p-paraṇi.* No further developments took place.

Kalampakam

Kalampakam is another literary genre. It means a garland of varying flowers. It is important in that it brings together learned poetry and folk-songs. Even a poet like Tattuvarāyar, who composes both kinds of literature keeps them apart, or at least posterity has considered such compositions distinct and different. His literary work are called *aṭaṅkaṉ muṟai*, a collection of literary compositions. His folk-songs are grouped together as *Pāṭuturai*, "the harbour of song", emphasising by its very name that these songs are to be sung to the tune of music. It will be thus seen that these two streams run in parallel courses.

Learned people, as the custodians of the literary tradition, have no sympathy for folk-songs. Therefore these folk-songs have not in all cases been preserved. But sometimes because

of social circumstances or because of the universal sympathy of certain poets, the folk-song motif enters into the main literary stream, rejuvenates and enriches it. This influence was noticed in Caṅkam literature, *Cilappatikāram* and *Tiru-k-kuraḷ*. The religious poets like the Āḻvārs and Nāyāṉmārs, because of their universal interest in Man sang their folk-songs to appeal to the common man.

These devotional hymns are popular inside Tamil land and outside up to the Himalayas, where the priest at Badrinath sings them, and also as far as distant Thailand.[90] But from the literary learned tradition of the grammarians, except for stray quotations by a few, one might not even know of the existence of these hymns. This shows the general outlook of the literary custodians. The Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite poets refer with reverence to these devotees, often at the beginning of their poems. So do the authors of Śaivite philosophical works. But this is a different matter and it is what one would naturally expect.

This dualism in Tamil poetry of the literary and folk literature should be emphasised. From this point of view, *Kalampakam* aiming at their harmony is very important. Its various parts, apart from the literary metres and subject matter, have been mentioned in the enumeration of these folk-songs.

The earliest *Kalampakam* now available is *Nanti-k-kalampakam* sung in praise of Nandivarma III—Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nanti (826-849 A.D.).[91] Perhaps this poet, whose name is unknown was the first to introduce this variety of literature. The language remains simple and enchanting. Even today it retains its youthful vigour and charm.

There is the *Tiru-k-kalampakam* of the Jains, sung by the poet Utīci Tēvar, perhaps to raise the atmosphere from

90. Mīṉākṣicuntaram, T. P., Cayāmil Tiru-p-pāvai, Tiruvempāvai. Also personally seen and heard by the author.
91. Panṭārattār, T. V. S., Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu 13th, 14th, 15th centuries, p. 62.

the simple one of innocent joy in the pleasures of the world to one of ethical serenity. The *Kalampakam* by Nampiyāṇṭār-nampi[92] in praise of Tiruñāṉacampantar probably comes next. It seems to give us an atmosphere which is a harmony of these two aspects, viz., secular and religious. None of these rise to the heights of *Nanti-k-kalampakam.*

The later attempts are to use the *Kalampakam* for singing the praise of the deity of a temple or one's own spiritual master. The greatest amongst those composing *Kalampakams* are the Iraṭṭaiyar of the fourteenth century.[93] They themselves make honourable mention of a poet named Tolkāppiya-t-tēvar.[94] Tattuvarāyar and Civappirakācar sing this kind of poems in honour of their *gurus.*[95]

In later times we have this poem sung in a majestic style with reference to the temples by poets like Kumarakuruparar and Civappirakācar of the seventeenth century, and Mīṉakṣi-cuntaram Piḷḷai of the nineteenth century.[96] A great professor of Mathematics and English, Raṅkanāta Mutaliyār, in the last century composed a *Kalampakam.*[97] Even Beschi wrote his *Tirukkāvalūr Kalampakam* on Mother Mary. We have a number of *Kalampakams* even by Muslims.[98] All this shows the popularity of this type of literature.

92. Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt (Ed.), Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalampakam (Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi).
93. Iraṭṭaiyar, Tiruvāmāttūr-k-kalampakam, Tillai-k-kalampakam, Kacci-k-kalampakam.
94. Tolkāppiya tēvar, Tiruppātiri-p-puliyūr-k-kalampakam.
95. Tattuvarāyar, Ñāṉavinōtaṉ kalampakam.
Civappirakācar, Civañāṉapālaiya cuvāmikaḷ Kalampakam.
96. Kumarakuruparar, Maturai-k-kalampakam, Kāci-k-kalam-pakam.
Civappirakācar, Tiruveṅkai-k-kalampakam.
Miṉākṣicuntaram Piḷḷai, Vāṭpōkki-k-kalampakam, etc., (for his other kalampakams, see Mīṉākṣicuntaram Piḷḷai Pirapanta-t-tiraṭṭu).
97. Raṅkanāta Mutaliyār, Kacci-k-kalampakam.
98. Javvātu-p-pulavar Nākai-k-kalampakam.
Apturrahīm, Muslim Tamiḻ-p-pulavarkaḷ, Appendix 2. (See for other kalampakams by Muslim poets).

9. LATER LITERARY TRENDS

Older Tradition

Apart from the various kinds of literary compositions, one may notice certain general trends in the centuries following the disappearance of the Tamil independence. There is first of all the old literary tradition enriched by Sanskrit learning and influence. This is patent in Court poetry. Second is the religious trend which becomes more and more philosophical, mystical and eclectic. Third is the coming into prominence of folk literature.

Court Poetry

The Tamil chiefs like the Campavarāyars of the fourteenth century continued to patronise Tamil.[1] Villiputtūrār was patronised by the chieftain Varapatiyāṭkoṇṭāṉ of Vakkapākai, who was also the patron of the Iraṭṭaiyar.[2] Vijayanagar kings and their chieftains from the very beginning patronised Tamil. Kāḷamēkam, a poet who composed extempore verses, sang of Tirumalairāyaṉ who had been ruling under the Vijayanagar Kings in the fifteenth century.[3] Aruṇakirinātar's patron was probably a Pirapuṭatēva Mārāyaṉ of the fifteenth century.[4] Krisṇadēvarāya the Great of the sixteenth century not only patronised Tamil poets like Tattuva-p-pirakācar, Kūttanūrappan, Vālakakōkilam,[5] but also wrote a Telugu epic

1. Iraṭṭaiyar, Ēkāmparanātar Ulā.
2. Varantaruvār, Ciṟappu-p-pāyiram to Pāratam-18. Cuppiramaṇiya-k-kavirāyar, Preface to Pāratam: Life sketch of the author, p. 5.
3. S. I. I. Vol. II, 23. There are three of the name Thirumalairāyaṉ. One from 1406 to 1422 A.D.; the second from 1422 to 1447 A.D.; the third from 1477-1456 A.D.
4. Aruṇakirinātar, Tiruppukaḻ.
5. Rākava Aiyaṅkār, M. (Ed.), Peruntokai, 1637-1643.

on the Tamil story of Āṇṭāḷ.[6] This shows the influence of the Tamil *bhakti* movement. The chieftains in the Tamil country grew more and more powerful. The kings of Teṉkāci calling themselves Pandyas not only patronised Tamil learning but they themselves composed poems. The Cētupatis of Rāmṉātapuram became prominent amongst other kings for patronising Tamil poets. Tirumalai Nāyakkar of the 17th century was another great patron of Tamil learning, in whose time various Tamil literary works came to be written. The officers of state also were patrons of learning and scholars. Vaṭamalaiyappa Piḷḷai translated *Maccapurāṇam* in 1647;[7] Mātai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Nātar wrote *Pirapōta Cantirōtayam* as an epic.[8] Even traders like Cītakkāti, a Muslim of the early 17th century, patronised both Muslim and Hindu poets.[9] Āṉantaraṅkam Piḷḷai, the dubash of Dupleix of the eighteenth century and a host of others, rich and important men, considered it a respectable fashion to patronise poets.

In this way we get a variety of literary pieces praising these patrons. Once again we have here the popularity of occasional verses. There came into vogue a new species of literature called *Cīṭṭu-k-kavi*, letters written in verse, addressed to these patrons and demanding the fulfilment of the needs of the poets.[10]

The various Pāḷayakārars, chieftains holding districts under military tenure, sometimes given to a life of pleasure and sexual excesses, admire obscene and detailed descriptions of sexual life. In spite of the command over the language, the charm of its style and striking similes, this poetry, because of this want of taste, shows more of the weakness of the decadent age than the vigour and life of a new age. *Viṟali viṭu*

6. Kiruṣṇa Tēvarāyar, Āmukta Malyata or Viṣṇucitya.
7. Rākava Aiyaṅkār, M. (Ed.), Peruntokai 1696, Ins. 289/1628.
8. Inscriptions, 289/1628.
9. Cuppiramaṇiya Piḷḷai, (Ed.), Taṉi-p-pāṭal tiraṭṭu, Vol. II, p. 227.
10. Virarākava Mutaliyār, Antaka-k-kavi: Cīṭṭu-k-kavi.

tūtu, *Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṉ kātal* and *Varuṇa Kulāttittaṉ maṭal* are examples of this kind of poety.[11]

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF SANSKRIT WORKS

There are various literary works of some importance produced in this age, either as translations, adaptations or as original compositions. We have two translations of *Bhāgavata puṟāṇa*, one by Cevvai-c-cūṭuvār and another by Varatarāca Aiyaṅkār, both of the sixteenth century. We have also translations of *Kūrma purāṇa* by Ativīrarāmaṉ *Piramōttira Kāṇṭam* and *Kāci-k-kāṇṭam* by Varatuṅkaṉ of Teṉkāci. Ativīrarāmaṉ has also translated Harṣa's *Naiṣada* into Tamil as *Naiṭatam*. In spite of sensuous descriptions it remains popular and dignified.

We have also translations of religious and philosophical works. *Bhagavad Gīta* as interpreted by Saṅkara, was translated into *viruttam* metre by Paṭṭar. This work became so popular that it was translated into Malayalam in the fourteenth century by Kannasa. There was another translation in *veṇpā* metre. *Śūtasamhitā* was translated in the fifteenth century by Tattuvarāyar as *Piramakītai* and again by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai in the nineteenth century under the original name.

The old mythological stories have been adapted in a number of popular works. The story of Hariscandra which has become well-known on account of Mahatma Gandhi pointing out in his autobiography, how this story has influenced and shaped his life,[12] has been told very early in *veṇpā* metre. Unfortunately this is not available in its entirety. Later a sixteenth century poet famous for his extempore versification called Ācu Kavi Vīraṉ composed on

11. Cupratīpa-k-kavirāyar, Viṟali viṭu Tūtu.
 Ibid., Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṉ Kātal.
 Cantiracēkarakavirājapaṇṭitar, Varuṇakulāttittaṉ Ulā Maṭal

12. Gandhi, M. K., An Autobiography or My experiments with truth, p. 16.

the basis of the older work, a narrative poem in *viruttam* metre.[13]

There is also the popular story of Naḷaṉ and Tamayanti. This has been sung in *veṇpā* metre by Pukaḻēnti, perhaps of the thirteenth century.[14] It is a poem which is popular among the students of our high schools. It is composed in *veṇpā* metre; its music and rhythm appeal to its readers. The way in which the author tells the story is simple and impressive. There are also other works following its example in using *veṇpā* metre for narrative poetry, such as *purūrava veṇpā*. *Akalikai veṇpā*[15] belongs to the present century. Even grammatical works came to be written in *veṇpā* metre,[16] because it follows the rhythm of speech. The *veṇpā* of this age, full of *kali* rhythm, is not the terse speech rhythm of the earlier age.

Mahābhārata naturally attracts the attention of the poets. The earlier work by Peruntēvaṉār in the age of the Pallava King Nantivarmaṉ III was written in *veṇpā* metre interspersed with prose, abounding in Sanskrit words. There seems to have been another version of an earlier age, perhaps also in *veṇpā* metre. This is not now available. An inscription of 1210 A.D. speaks of one Aruḷ nilai Vicākaṉ "establishing the Śaivite path by translating *Mahābhārata* into Tamil."[17] But the age required this popular story of India being told in the *viruttam* metre, especially in *canta viruttam*. Villiputtūrār of the fourteenth century has given us this story in his inimitable verses which are easy and flowing, majestic and musical. It is said it follows Agastya Bhaṭṭā's *Bāla Bhārata* in Sanskrit.[18] But it cannot be defi-

13. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar, Sixteenth century poets, p. 49.
14. Pukaḻēnti, Naḷaveṇpā.
15. Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār, Veḷḷakkāl, Akalikai veṇpā.
16. Kuṇavīra Paṇṭitar, Nēminātam (for instance).
17. Ins. 482/1905.
18. Kiruṣṇamāccāri, Villipāratam preface.

nitely stated, because Villiputtūrār could not be considered later than Agastya Bhaṭṭa. Villi has emphasised in his story only such of the episodes of the great epic that would appeal to the men of his age and avoided unnecessary elaborations. In this way the story is much more gripping than the original. Till very late, even in the twentieth century, during the summer nights *piracaṅkis* (lecturers) have been reading and expounding this interesting work in the North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. Perhaps this has been the only annual enjoyment for the people of the villages. In the eighteenth century one Nallā-p-piḷḷai, to fill up the gaps in this work, has composed verses describing the various episodes found in the original *Mahābhārata* but purposely left out by Villi. These verses have been used sometimes by the *piracaṅkis* to elaborate the story as told by Villi. It cannot be said that the people enjoyed these additions.

RELIGIOUS POETRY

SECTARIAN WRITING

Rise of Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite mutts

When there is no external peace man turns inward. The people of the religious order coming to serve the people become an important force in the society of that period. Even kings and chieftains bowed down before them and endowed their mutts. In those disturbed times the mutts come to manage the temples. Various mutts in that way arise all through the country. We have various lines of Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite mutts. There is a line represented by Tattuvarāyar and his master Corūpāṉantar. These have given us in the fourteenth century itself anthologies of religious and philosophical verses. There is a mutt now famous at Dharmapuram in Mayavaram founded by Saint Guru-ñāṉacampantar. He was a disciple of a householder. He belongs to the sixteenth century. One of his disciples went to Banaras to preach the message of Saiva Siddhānta and his mutt at Banaras later came to have a centre in Tamil

land at Tiru-p-paṉantāḷ. Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai, reputed as the place of Tirumūlar, comes to be another centre. *Sanyāsins* of this mutt are proud of the fact that their founder was no disciple of a house-holder. There have been a number of other mutts. The non-Brahmin mutts at least from the time of Kulōttuṅkaṉ III, have come to be known as *kukai* and in his reign we know of the demolition of these non-Brahmin mutts.[19] This is because of the opposition to non-Brahmins becoming ascetics. But the attempt actually inspired the growth of many more mutts; for all these mutts enumerated above have arisen only after this vandalism. More and more men of spirituality and human sympathy renounced the world and came to serve God either through mutts or individually, delivering the message of God's love. Later the Vīra saivites established mutts or took charge of the uncared-for mutts. Civaññāṉapālaiya Cuvāmikaḷ's is one such Vīra saiva mutt. Civa-p-pirakācar belonged to this mutt.

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism began to develop into various sub-schools which, though within the general philosophy as explained by the elder generation, differed in minor details. This freedom of thought should be emphasised. The ascetics of these schools with their concern for the suffering millions composed literary and religious works in Tamil.[20]

The mutts were centres of learning. At a later stage when patronage of poetry and art became a fashion, even as there were court poets of various principalities, poets came to be attached to mutts and temples. Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, the teacher of Dr. Cāmināta Iyer, was the poet attached to the Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Mutt in the nineteenth century. Tirikūṭa rācappa-k-kavirāyar was the poet of the Tirukkuṟṟālam

19. Annual report on Epigraphy — Southern circle for 1913 Part II, Ins. 471/1912.

20. Civappirakācar (Vīra Saivism), Civappirakāca cuvāmikaḷ Pirapanta-t-tiraṭṭu.
Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa-p-perumāḷ (Vaiṣṇavism, Teṉkalai), Āccārya Hṛutayam Vētānta Tēcikar (Vaiṣṇavism Vaṭakalai), Tēcika-p-pirapantaṅkaḷ.

temple, in the eighteenth century.[21] They sang on their *gurus* and the deities.

There were three aspects of the religious trend. The first was sectarian. There were purely sectarian works praising the particular form of God worshipped, and in a few cases decrying the other forms. There was the conflict between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism continuing upto the early part of the twentieth century. Piḷḷai-p-perumāḷ Aiyaṅkār for Vaiṣṇavism and Saiva Ellappa Nāvalar for Śaivism are examples.[22] But all the poets were not indulging in this recrimination. Following the foot steps of the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs there was the simple outpouring of poet's love to God. The Teṉkāci Pandyas were sincere devotees of Śiva, building temples and composing verses. One of their works *Tiru-k-karuvai-p-patiṟṟu-p-pattantāti* by Ativīrarāma Pāṇṭiyaṉ is called *Kuṭṭi-t-tiruvācakam*[23] "the minor Tiruvācakam" appealing to our heart like the ancient work of Māṇikkavācakar. Generally the literary compositions explained elsewhere were of this type, but they became conventionalised. This kind of poetry is loaded with philosophy.

Muslim epics

The Muslims and Christians also wrote their epics. The most important of the Muslim epics is *Cīṟā-p-purāṇam* giving us the life of the Great Prophet Muhammad. This is by Umaṟu-p-pulavar patronised by *Cītakkāti* of the early seventeenth century. It reads like a *purāṇa* full of miracles. The poet in thinking of Arabia describes only the Tamil Country. But for the Arabic names, one may mistake this for another Hindu *purāṇa* of the age.

21. Mīnāksicuntaram Piḷḷai, Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ampalavāṇaṉ Tēcikar Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.
Tirikūṭarācappa-k-kavirāyar, Tirukkuṟṟāla-t-talapurāṇam, Tirukkuṟṟālanātār Ulā.
22. Piḷḷai-p-perumāḷ Aiyaṅkār, Aṣṭa-pirapantam.
Caiva Ellappa Nāvalar, Tiruvaruṇai-k-kalampakam.
23. It is also attributed to Varatuṅkarāma pāṇṭiyaṉ.
Cōmacuntara Tēcikar, Sixteenth century poets.

Christian epics

Father Beschi has adopted the Portuguese original of the story of St. Joseph in writing his great epic *Tēmpāvaṇi.* It is important as giving us the life of Jesus. The poet here follows *Cintāmaṇi* and *Kamparāmāyaṇam.* Certain echoes from Tasso have been recognised but a fuller study of the poet from Italy, may reveal the influence of Latin and Italian poetry. Being a foreigner he finds it difficult to complete the sentences with ease.

The Protestants have to wait till the nineteenth century for the true Tamil Christian poet, Kiruṣṇa Piḷḷai. His adapation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is a masterpiece in this line.[24]

Philosophical and mystic poetry

The second aspect of religious poetry is its philosophical emphasis. This is found in mystic poetry. *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* of Umāpati civam seems to philosophise on the mystic experience. Here the philosophical emphasis is pronounced but not so as to affect the poetic value. *Ñāṉāmirtam,* a book consisting of a number of *akavals*, is written in the old literary language.[25] Except for the use of the older language, it is full of original poetic beauties. It is rarely one gets a philosophical work of such great literary value. It stands unique in Tamil literature. It is assigned to the Cola period, perhaps the twelfth century. There were also other expositions of philosophies in prose and verse. The best in this field are *Civañāṉa Cittiyār*[26] of the thirteenth century for Śaivism and *Kaivalya Navanītam*[27] in the seventeenth or eighteenth century for Saṅkara Vēdanta. No exposition is so simple and so captivating as these. One has also to mention the *Avirōta Untiyār* of Cāntaliṅkar of the seventeenth century. As the name itself denotes it is a poem consisting

24. Kirṣṇa-p-piḷḷai, Iraṭcaṇiya yāttirikam.
25. Vākīca Munivar, Ñāṉāmirtam.
26. Aruṇanti civāccāriyar, Civañāṉa cittiyār.
27. Tāṇṭavarāyar Cuvāmikaḷ, Kaivalliya Navanītam,

of songs sung by girls in their game (*unti*), and explaining the harmony (*avirōda*) of conflicting philosophies. *Oḻivil Oṭukkam by Kaṇṇutaiya Vaḷḷaḷār* is praised by Saint Rāmaliṅkar of the nineteenth century. Citampara Cuvāmikal, a mystic poet and a *bhakta* of the eighteenth century, has written a commentary on this work. Vaḷḷalār claims as his *guru* the *Tēvāram* Saint Campantar who lived a thousand years before him. The author states that when he was in contemplation Campantar revealed to him the great truth. The book is in *veṇpā* metre, simple, touching and full of beautiful similes. This is a book of great value both as literature and mystic poetry. He refers to Paṭṭiṉattār and Pattirakiriyār. He must therefore belong to the seventeenth century. Tāyumāṉavar's poems of the seventeenth century spring from his mystic experience, kindled by philosophical study and intense *bhakti*. Philosophy in India is a way of life rather than a mere intellectual pursuit. But even there it became, as Tāyumāṉavar points out, a mere quibbling with words.[28] In spite of Sanskrit words and philosophical terms, his poetry is generally simple and inspiring. Nowhere else does one find poetry explaining the intricacies of philosophy in such an easy manner carrying conviction. Upaniṣad phrases become alive in his verses.[29]

Eclecticism—Cittars (*Siddhas*)

A third aspect of the religious trend is also seen in Tāyumāṉavar's poetry. Eclecticism shines through his poems in spite of his passing references to sectarian outlook. He speaks of the *cittars* belonging to the school of Tirumūlar,[30] to which he himself belongs.

The poems of various *cittars* as collected and published are popular. All of them are not of uniform merit; some

28. Tāyumāṉavar, Tāyumāṉava Aṭikaḷ Tiru-p-pāṭalkaḷ, Cittarkaṇam, 10.
29. *Ibid.*, See especially Poruḷ vaṇakkam and the line "Arumaṟaiyiṉ cira-p-poruḷ" which means of the Upanishads.
30. *Ibid.*, Mauṉakuru Vaṇakkam, 1-10.

have no value whatsoever. Medicine, alchemy, *tantra* worship and Yoga form the greater part of these kinds of works. But still there is left a remnant which is of supreme significance even as poetry. The influence of sufism may be noticed and Muslim poets also have sung in this strain.[31] Civavākkiyar has already been mentioned. It has been pointed out that certain poems which go in the name of Paṭṭiṉaṭṭār do not find a place in the Śaivite canonical works and it has been assumed that they might belong to the Vijayanagar period. In a world of war and famine, some turned inwards as another case of escapism, emphasised by this Paṭṭiṉattār and others. Their poems were often addressed to their minds. Paṭṭiṉattār's disciple is called Pattirakiriyār reminding us of the great philosopher and grammarian Bartṛhari. His poem is called the "moaning cry of true wisdom" *meyññāna-p-pulampal*. Among the Muslim poets one may refer to Kuṇaṅkuṭimastāṉ.[32] His verses remind us of the songs of Tāyumāṉavar but are simpler and more colloquial. He does not mind using obscene terms—a characteristic feature of some of the mystics. As it became sacerdotal, the conventional religion raised a revolt in the poems of *cittars*. They emphasised the inner spirit rather than the outer ritual.

The *cittars* composed in folk-song metre and in the popular rhythm of speech. One of them sings verses in the metre used by the snake charmers. Iṭai-k-kāṭṭu-c-cittar sings as though he is a shepherd. He emphasises that God is in man. Akappēy-c-cittar addresses his mind as the ghost or *pēy*. Kutampai-c-cittar addresses his mind as a lady wearing an ear ring. Kaṭuvaḷi-c-cittar and Aḻukuṇi-c-cittar should also be mentioned. By the time of the former, opium eating has come to India; the latter addresses Śakti as Kaṇṇamma. But his ideas are too mystical for ordinary people.

In the nineteenth Century, in the period of Sri Rāmakriṣṇa, there was born in the Tamil land Rāmaliṅkar, a

31. Pīr Mukammatu Cākipu, Tarkalai, Ñāṉamaṇmālai, Ñāṉa-p-pukaḻ-mālai etc., for further works see Apturṟkīm: Muslim tamiḻ-p-pulavarkaḷ.
32. Kuṇaṅkuṭi Mastāṉ, Kuṇaṅkuṭi Mastaṉ Cākipu Paṭalkaḷ.

poet of universal love. He also claims to come in the line of Siddhas. His mantra describes God as *Aruṭperuñcōti-taṉi-p-peruṅ karuṇai,*[33] "the great light of universal love, the unique and great universal compassion". He speaks of the universal path (*saṉmārga*) emphasising the common basis of all religions and containing the quintessence of all of them. He is against all creeds and dogmas, sects and clans, castes and classes. All beings are brought together by this universal love. God is love; and feeling sympathy with all beings is the only form of worship. His poetry is very popular. He confesses his mistakes, and therefore one does not feel any distance from him. His poetry is an expression of his personality. It has a direct appeal to the heart. His simple language is very much appreciated by the common man. He describes his mystic experience in terms of ordinary innocent experiences of Nature.[34] His religion of universal love unfortunately came before people were ripe for it. He did not have a Vivēkānanda to deliver message in English. In the future, when the world becomes one family, his poem is bound to become the musical and poetic voice of the world.

Folk-songs and Folk-stories

The third great literary trend was inspired by the common folk. Where there was not a Tamil King as in the Caṅkam age, the poets had to look to the common man for support. They therefore began to sing folk-songs and develop folk literature. This interest in the common man began as early as the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḻvārs. Even in the succeeding period of philosophising the great men of the age expressed their mystic experience in poetry. The earliest work on Śaiva Siddhānta, *Tiruvuntiyār,* is a folk-song.[35] This is earlier than the thirteenth century when Meykaṇṭār gave his *Civañāṉapōtam* with illustrative verses exemplifying his own mystic experience.. Tattuvarāyar in the fourteenth century

33. Rāmaliṅkar, Tiruvaruṭpā — Tiru Āyiram Viṇṇappam, p. 1.
34. *Ibid.*, Aruḷviḷakkamālai—2, p. 160.
35. Uyyavanta Tēvar, Tiruvuntiyār.

sang in almost all varieties of folk-songs.[36] Each occupation had in that age its own song and tune, which probably relieved the people of drudgery and fatigue. The *cittars* often sang in the folk-song motif. Tāyumāṉavar used this successfully. So did Rāmaliṅkar.

The folk-songs are always to be sung, and this brings out the close relationship between music and poetry generally. Temples were the centre of social life. The poor man enjoyed the public performance of music, the public distribution of *prasādās* such as offerings of food, and generally the public pump of life in relation to the temple deity clothed and bejewelled. He identified himself with all this richness of life because of his belief that God in the form of the deity was the Common Father. Temples, naturally encouraged the poets to compose folk-songs set to music. Every temple had its own series of songs as part of its ritual in connection with the deity's procession. There were also poetic dialogues of the Father and the Mother, which appealed to the common man and brought God, as being full of human feelings nearer to his heart.[37]

Purāṇās

Purāṇas of the various temples are really collections of the folk tales. Their value as such unfortunately remains clouded by their religious association. It is because of their being a folk literature that they appeal to the common man. Every temple tries to get a *purāṇa* composed. This age of *purāṇas* extends up to the twentieth century from probably the thirteenth. They carry the message of God's love for all, even to sinners. "Utter the name of God with a changed heart and you are saved, however great your sin may be" is the message. Even the plants, birds and beasts because of this universal love are dear to the Lord and attain salvation. In the

36. Tattuvarāyar, Aṭaṅkaṉmuṟai: Tiru-t-tālāṭṭu, Piḷḷai-t-tirunāmam etc.
37. Tirikūṭarācappa-k-kavirāyar, Tirukkuṟṟāla Ūṭal.

midst of worldly sufferings and sins this is a message of hope. Poverty and pestilence may be raging all round; but in every village, God is there to save us, if not in this birth at least in the next. There is no village which does not have a small temple, and the poets sing of that deity being worshipped by the god of the rains, the sun, the moon and the wind. Where is a place which does not get rain, where the moon and the sun do not shine and where the wind does not blow? In that age of despair and despondency, hope is stirred in the hearts of men. There is another belief found in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal purāṇams*: Tamil is God; Tamil poets are God's concern; Tamil land is His favourite resort. The most popular version is probably that of Parañcōti of the seventeenth century. Its flow is charming; its rhythm is enchanting. We have a number of other *purāṇas* in every century from the thirteenth. Mīnāṭci-cuntaram Piḷḷai of the last century wrote many because of the desire of the people to have *purāṇas* for their villages. Some of the *purāṇas* like the *Kāñci-p-purāṇam* by Civañāṉa Cuvāmikaḷ, *Taṇikai-p-purāṇam* by Kacciyappar and *Cētu purāṇam* by Nirampa-v-aḻakiya Tēcikar are considered by traditional scholars to be of high literary value, as preserving the older literary tradition and as explaining in verses the religious rituals and philosophical truths.

Drama

The stories of the *purāṇas* were dramatised and enacted in the temples. But these could not give great scope for originality. The serious and religious story could not be made secular and humorous. The *kuṟam*, the story of the mountain-lass reading the hands of a virgin in love is elaborated into a drama. One can laugh at her and at the virgin falling in love with God. This story is further expanded by adding to it an already popular song of the hunter. The mountain-lass goes on her pilgrimage, reads many hands and returns with presents. Her husband pines for her and goes in search of her, catching birds on his way. He finally meets his wife. A humorous situation develops when the ornaments which she has received are mistaken by him for serpents and lizards.

This musical dance-drama is called *kuṟavañci* and the best is that of Tirikūṭarācappa-k-kavirāyar of the eighteenth century.[38]

The cultivating labourers inspire another kind of drama. These labourers form the depressed community attached to the land. Drink is their vice. The chief of them dresses in imitation of the higher class. He has a fine moustache of which he is proud. He has two wives. This sets the plot on its way. The older, jealous of the younger, complains to the supervisor, that becouse of the younger wife her husband is lazy and is given to pilfering. The supervisor casts his amorous glances on this woman. He puts the chief of the labourers into the stocks. There is an exchange of words between the wives. The elder wife who has not expected this serious turn, begs the release of her husband. The drama ends in peace and joy. Here come all the details of cultivation, of supervision and administration, in short, of the life of the village. These dramas are called *paḷḷus.* The best of the *paḷḷus* is *Mukkūṭarpaḷḷu* of the seventeenth century.

Earlier in the seventeenth century developed another variety of folk-song. It started as a monologue of the robber. He begins life as a villager. He soon falls a prey to a prostitute and turns a robber for supplying her with riches. She asks for a horse. He travels from Maturai northwards, hoodwinking many robbers on the way. He attempts to steal the horse of Zulfikar Khan, the Moghul chieftain who was then encamped at Gingi in the South Arcot District. He is caught and according to the custom his leg is cut off. A friend of Cītakkāti, the merchant prince of Ramanatapuram, takes pity on him and arranges for medical treatment. He requests the lame man to come to Cītakkāti. The lame man becomes a Muslim and induced by Cītakkāti goes to Mecca where his leg becomes whole. He returns to thank Cītakkāti.[39] Evidently this is an attempt at Muslim propaganda but this motive is not very obtrusive. This theme develops into a drama and

38. *Ibid.*, Tirukkuṟṟāla-k-kuṟavañci.
39. Cītakkāti Noṇṭi Nāṭakam.

the Hindu temple deity cures lameness in many such *noṇṭi-nāṭakams* ("the drama of the lame"). This becomes very popular. The particular metre used by the *noṇṭi* in narrating his story comes to be known as the *noṇṭi-c-cinutu.* These dramas give room for the free movement of the poet's art. The poets cannot make fun of the chieftains and rulers, but they can ridicule the foibles of the robbers and labourers; these characters symbolise the weakness of the age, both in the rich and the poor. In this way these dramas become good satires with no bitterness. The characters remain as types rather than individuals.

Mārimuttu Piḷḷai of the eighteenth century has written a drama called *Anīti Nāṭakam,* "the drama of injustice". It is the age of the Carnatic Nawabs. Khan Sahib who has helped the East India Company becomes the Governor under the Nawab at the company's recommendation. As shown by this drama he has become popular as a just administrator. The poet describes the atrocities of the Nawab's administrators down to the village officials. The whole system is corrupt to the core. The matter is finally taken up to the Khan Sahib and he renders justice.

In the nineteenth century, drama is fully developed with a certain amount of characterisation. It continues, however, to be a musical dance-drama . In the latter half of the nineteenth century drama is enacted in indoor theatres. There are influences from Telugu and Marathi, and finally from English.

Ballads

The mention of Khan Sahib reminds us of the development in folk-songs of something like a ballad. Khan Sahib was hated by the Nawab and finally he was hanged. People touched by this sad fate of their popular hero, enjoyed listening to the song telling of his battle and of his heroic death. *Kāṉ Cāyapu Caṇṭai* is the name of that song. Kaṭṭa Pommaṉ was the next chieftain to be hanged when he revolted against the British. His story was sung by a number of people, the

best version being the one sung by his court poet.[40] *Kummi* is the song sung by young girls going round and round in various patterns clapping their hands. There are songs on Kaṭṭa Pommaṉ and *Kummi* songs. There are also other poems on battles. There is an earlier poem describing the military expedition of Rāmappayyaṉ called *Rāmappayyaṉ ammāṉai*. *Ammāṉai* was originally a game played by young girls, who threw up the toy-like pieces and caught them aright. Later it became the name of the metre of these ballad-like songs. Various stories of the contemporary age were sung in this metre. *Tēciṅkurācaṉ Katai* is the story of a popular prince of Gingi whose Muslim friend died on the battle field when the Nawab led an expedition against the prince. The changes in the rhythm to suit the movement of the story are very captivating.

There are various folk-songs on the village deities like Kāttavarāyaṉ and Māriyammaṉ. Others are concerned with the village heroes like Maturai Vīraṉ, equally mythological in the popular memory. The stories from the old *purāṇas* and ancient Tamil literature, modified unconsciously, are also sung in this metre. *Kōvalaṉ Katai* gives us a new version of *Cilappatikāram*. A number of episodes, unknown to the original *Mahābhārata*, developed in the Tamil country. *Alliyaracāṇi mālai, Pulantiraṉ kaḷavu* and *Pavaḷa-k-koṭi mālai* are examples.

Music and poetry

Because of the patronage of music by the Nayak and Mahrattha chieftains of Tamil land, *Cintu* develops into *kīrtaṉai*. *Kīrttaṉai* means praise. It began first as the singing of the praise of God. From the eighth century onwards at least, we know of verses on the victories and glories of the hands and arms of the king. These verses describe the varieties of these glories in succession. This is called *vakuppu*. This has a musical rhythm which can be sung to keep time; thus *vakuppu* becomes the name of a musical composition. In the Vijayanagar days Aruṇakirinātar has made this popular. It

40. Kaṭṭapommaṉ katai.

becomes a new art where music and poetry are commingled. His compositions of this type are called *Tiru-p-pukaḻ*, because they sing the sacred praise of the Lord. The metrical pattern is of the old *viruttam*. One of the chief characteristics of the post-Cola period is the change of the rhythm into *iraṭṭai viruttam*. By the doubling of the old lines of the *viruttam* longer verses came to be composed. We get such longer verses in *Tiru-p-pukaḻ*. This doubling goes on till in Rāmaliṅkar we get a verse of four lines where each line consists of hundred and twelve feet.[41]

It will be thus seen that *Tiru-p-pukaḻ* is the Tamil word for what comes to be known as *kīrttaṉai* in later times, but, unlike the *kīrttaṉai*, it has no *pallavi* or refrain. There is a *kīrttaṉai* sung by Veṉṟimālai-k-kavirāyar when the idol of Tiruccentūr, taken away by the Dutch, was recovered in 1653. Muttu-t-tāṇṭavarāyar composed *kīrttaṉais* probably in the last part of the seventeenth century.[42] Māriyappa Piḷḷai, the author of *Anīti Nāṭakam*, has also composed *kīrttaṉais*. *Kīrttaṉais* become part of dramas like *kuṟaavañci*. *Dvipata* and *Sīsapadya* from Telugu and *Dohrā* and *Taru* from Marathi are adapted as special forms of versification in Tamil dramas.

Dramas came to be written entirely in *kīrttaṉais*. The earliest and the most successful and popular attempt is that of Aruṇācala Kavi at the end of the eighteenth century. He dramatises the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his *Rāmanāṭaka-k-kīrttaṉai*. *Pāratam*, *Kantapurāṇam*, *Periyapurāṇam* and many others also come to be written as dramas of this type by poets who are experts in music.

Kālakṣēpam means literally "spending time". The word, first used in the sense of listening to discourses on sacred stories, becomes the name of a particular kind of discourse where the stories are explained in prose interspersed with

41. Rāmaliṅkar, Iraṭṭai viruttam.

42. Muttu-t-tāṇṭavarâyar, Muttu-t-tāṇṭavar Patam.

musical songs. These became popular in the nineteenth century. The *kīrttaṉais* are utilised in these *Kālakṣēpams*. The story of the Harijan saint Nantaṉār, who, as against a Brahmin, was preferred by God, has been developed into beautiful drama of *kīrttaṉai* by Kopālakriṣṇa Pārati.[43] The characterisation is perfect, though given to exaggeration. It is a very popular book of great literary value though not recognised as such by the literary tradition, which does not take kindly to colloquial phrases and terms introduced into such works.

Even mystics use this *kīrttaṉai* form. Rāmaliṅkar also has written many *kīrttaṉais*.[44] *Kuṟavañci* is utilised as an allegory. Christians too use this folk song motif. Vētanāyaka Cāttiriyār's works illustrate this trend. Similarly the Muslims have many *kuṟvañcis.*

43. Kōpālakiruṣṇa Pārati, Nantaṉār Carittira-k-kīrttaṉai.

44. Rāmaliṅkar, Tiru Aruṭpa Tiru Āyiram: Kīrttaṉai, pp. 214-239.

10. MODERN PERIOD

PROSE

General

What man speaks is prose, but it takes a long time for him to recognise this and much more time to recognise that it can be literature. *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of prose literature consisting of riddles and proverbs.[1] These differ from verse only in their freedom from restrictions as to lines. Literature in verse interspersed with prose comes to be composed. *Cilappatikāram* is an example.[2]. The narrative introduction to songs or religious dramatic rituals are in prose.[3] This prose has all the marks of a verse—alliteration, initial rhyme or assonance, and even metrical rhythm, the foot however can be much longer and the metrical pattern can change without any restriction. The commentaries are written in prose. Nakkīrar's commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Aka-p-poruḷ*, belonging to the Pallava period, has descriptive passages of literary beauty. Here also we find alliteration and assonance; Sometimes they can be metrically scanned. The prose in *Peruntēvaṉar Pāratam* of the ninth century is full of Sanskrit words. The inscriptions give an idea of the prose of the age but not of the prose literature. The *maṇi-p-piravāḷa* style consists of alternating phrases in Tamil and Sanskrit like a necklace of gems and corals; its syntax is Tamil. It becomes a vehicle of Vaiṣṇavite philosophical thought.[4] The commentary in this style on Nammāḻvār's poems, as told by Nampiḷḷai and as reduced to writing by Vaṭakku-t-tiru vīti-p-piḷḷai

1. Tolkāppiyar, Tolkāppiyam 1429.
2. Ilaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram: Urai-p-pāyiram, p. 30 [for instance].
3. Cāminātа Aiyar, Dr. U. V. (Ed.), Puṟanāṉūṟu 2 Colophon [for instance].
4. Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa-p-perumāḷ, Āccārya Hrutayam [for instance].

of the thirteenth century, stands unique for its poetic appreciation governed by a philosophical outlook. The great Sanskrit scholar, poet and philosopher, Vētānta Tēcikar, has also written in this style.[5] Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, the great exponent of Teṉkalai Śrivaiṣṇavism, is a prolific writer, commenting on the *maṇi-p-piravāḷa* philosophical works. In this style, which is also popular among the Jains, *Sripurāṇam*, the *purāṇa* of the sixty-three ancient men of Jain mythology, comes to be written. This is assigned by some to the end of the ninth century, but it probably belongs to the sixteenth century and is the work of Maṇṭalapuruṭar of Kriṣṇadēvarāya's reign. It is the only literary work in prose available in Tamil before we come to the seventeenth century

The first half of the second millenium is also the period of the commentators on ancient Tamil classics. The style of Iḷampūraṇār, the first commentator on *Tolkāppiyam* is simple. Cēṉāvaraiyar's is more elegant and descriptive, though there is not much scope for description in his grammatical writing.[6] The style of Parimēlaḻakar, the commentator on *Kuṟaḷ*, is very terse though crystal clear. Pēraciriyar's style is dignified.[7] Nacciṉarkkiṉiyar uses no tricks of style; he forgets himself in his exposition.[8]

The Christian missionaries from the West had to write their philosophy and religion in Tamil prose. De Nobili's works are voluminous.[9] His Tamil contains many Sanskrit words. He tries to explain in Tamil medieval European philosophy and this is a great contribution to the enrichment of Tamil. Ziegenbalg of the Tranquebar mission in the

5. Vētānta tēcikar, Tēcika-p-pirapantaṅkaḷ.
6. Cēṉāvaraiyar, Commentary on Tolkāppiyam. Collatikāram—See for example his commentary on Sutra 539.
7. Pēraciriyar, Commentary on Tirukkōvaiyār.
8. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary Pattu-p-pāṭṭu, Kali-t-tokai, Cintāmaṇi.
9. Nobili, Robert, D., Ñāṉōpatēca Kāṇṭam, Mantiramālai, etc. For further works see Murdock, John, Classified catalogue of Tamil printed books.

eighteenth century started translating the Bible. The history of Bible translation will be the history of one kind of Tamil prose. The translation of the Bible now in use is important because the great prose writer of the nineteenth century, Ārumukanāvalar, had a part in it. The eighteenth century Jesuit Beschi was a prolific writer on Christian religion in Tamil.[10] His greatest contribution is *Avivēka pūraṇa kurukatai* ("the story of the *guru* who is the perfection of ignorance"). It was intended as a satire on the four Protestant schools of thought, but that can never be understood by the general public of the Tamil land. Having lost its original sting, it has become a general satire. Simple and full of humour it is enjoyed even by children. In a sense, Beschi is the father of modern prose and the modern short story.

The development of prose in the hands of Christians did not affect the main stream of literary prose. The commentaries on grammatical and philosophical works continued to be written. The most important production was that of Civañāṉacuvāmikal of the eighteenth century. Apart from his controversial writings on grammar, litrature and philosophy[11] there is his monumental work, the commentary on *Civañāṉapōtam* which contains many long prose passages describing the philosophy of Saiva Siddhānta. In his controversial works he shows a biting humour and uses a number of proverbs. Citamparacuvāmikaḷ's commentary on philosophical verses is an elaborate elucidation in simple and straightforward prose.

In the nineteenth century an institution was founded in the Fort St. George, for the development of Tamil. Prose works came to be written by Tamil scholars. Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār's *Pañca tantiram* is important in that its style in each of the *tantirams* gradually becomes more and more

10. Btschi, Vētiyar Oḻukkam.
11. Civañāṉa Muṉivar, Ilakkaṇa Viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi, Tolkāppiya mutaṟ-c-cūttiravirutti, Payira virutti, Cittānta Marapu Kaṇṭaṉam, Kamparāmāyaṇa Mutaṟ Cankōttara Virutti.

literary and difficult. The *Vinōtaracamañcari* by Vīrācāmi Ceṭṭiyar is characterised by a style full of proverbs. Though grammatical it also shows the force of the colloquial style. It narrates anecdotes concerning poets and describes the social events of the day.

Ārumukanāvalar of the nineteenth century is the father of modern literary prose—the simple, elegant but grammatically correct prose. His style is colourless, avoiding poetical flourishes. This restraint probably made others follow his style.

The prose style of Saint Rāmaliṅkar is characterised by vigour and emotion. It is clear and simple. His essay on human compassion is indeed a masterpiece. His story of Maṉunītikaṇṭa Cōḻaṉ, a Śaivite king, is an elaborate development of an episode in *Periyapurāṇam.*

In the twentieth century Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ wote in a simple style, clear and sweet. As he grew older his style became more and more clear and simple. The religious, philosophical and political controversies made his style forceful and full of life.[12]

The style of Tiru-Vi-Ka, a patriot, a labour leader and a journalist, consists of powerful short sentences interspersed with sentences of greater length, creating a new rhythm and avoiding monotony. Though lacking in humour his prose is full of the sincere fervour of patriotism and other great ideals. His speeches on the political, labour and literary platforms have made Tamil a powerful vehicle of modern thought.

Autobiography has become popular in the present century. We have the autobiography of Dr. U. V. Cāminātа Aiyar, the scholar and great editor of Tamil classics. With almost a childish innocence he gives us a picture of the

12. Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ, Māṇikkavācakar Kālamum Varalāṟum [see for instance].

literary world in which he moved.[13] Tiru-Vi-Ka's autobiography is a work of art.[14] He hides nothing and in his large heartedness he has given us pen portraits of the scholars and statesmen, saints and philosophers with whom he came into contact. His style is at its perfection in this work.

Early Christians desirous of appealing to the children and the neo-literates wrote in simple colloquial prose. The idea of graded text-books for the children may be traced to them. Āṟumukanāvalar, who had the benefit of Christian missionary education, wrote his graded readers for the children but with a Śaivite bias. It is only latterly that books with pictures, printed in bold type and catering to the interests of the children are being published.

Oratory

The problems of the modern world inspire Tamil oratory in all the varied spheres of human life. Under the present circumstances, Tamil oratory has become a force more powerful than even the press. It is no more confined to religion; though in religion, it has developed the unique Indian art of *kālakṣēpam*, religious discourse, full of music and the dramatic approach. The political awakening was achieved by the spoken word. Political propaganda through its contact with the masses has had the effect of raising the standard of colloquial speech and of rejuvenating Tamil language. Oratory has revealed the powers and possibilities of the language.

It was a good fortune that the Tamil scholar and philosopher of harmony, Tiru-vi-ka, was the leader of all the platforms, when oratory was coming to its own. Tamil speech, therefore, keeps up a very high standard in general, even in the labour world. His magic power of speech lay in his undoubted sincerity and universal love; and even though there was no humour in his speech, he could keep his

13. Cāmināta Aiyar, Dr. U. V., Eṉ Caritam.
14. Tiru-vi-ka, Vāḻkkai-k-kuṟippukaḷ.

audience spell-bound for hours together; for Tamil oratory never knew any restriction of time. His dignified rhythm, his inspiring emphasis, his arresting prologue full of poetic descriptions of the locality and its noble and historic past, his peroration slowly but unfailingly reaching its climax whilst his body glowed with enthusiasm and inspiration, the literary flavour of his quotations and style and his epilogue swiftly in one span summing up in a masterly fashion his whole speech had a telling effect on his audience.

Other kinds of oratory developed among his friends. The first relies on emotion and rhythm to guide and beautify its speech. The second is the oratory of the ideal teacher characterised by clarity and simplicity, by illustration and naturalness, but made unique by the use of the Gospel method of parables and similes.

Another is characterised by a studied common sense, by an arresting array of facts, imagined or otherwise, and by a sincerity of tone, with no literary adornment or rhetorical trick. This is very successful in some iconoclastic speakers, who, without any conscious use of humour or other visible emotions, carry the audience through the whole gamut of emotions, which are however kindled in the audience by the force of facts stated rather than as a reflection of the speakers' patent feelings in the speech.

There is a fourth and more recent one, not altogether new, but becoming more and more common; it is characterised by its faith in endless alliteration and jingling assonance, which fortunately in Tamil come in without much effort. Those who play on the shallow waters of meaningless speech enliven their talk with this jingle, relying more on vulgar humour and childish wit. Learned style also uses this jingle, weaying oxymorons and epigrams.

This epidemic of alliteration is a dangerous modern trend in Tamil infecting all kinds of literature. It therefore demands closer study. When there is this hankering after alliteration and assonance, words are chosen neither for their subtle nuances of meaning nor for their volcanic power nor

even for their music or sound symbolism, but only for their jingling effect. As a result, words of allied meaning, piled again and again, or chosen as equals of other words because of this assonance alone, lose their differences in meaning, their fine nuances, their even increasing depth and ever inspiring music. This impoverishment of words and language started by the rhyming poets of the dark ages, is continued by this race of orators.

Alliteration and assonance have a place in literature and oratory, when they come in naturally and forcibly, as in proverbs, creating never-to-be-forgotten epigrams, slogans, satirical or humorous phrases, or poetic expressions. These summarise with telling effect the whole trend of thought, epitomise the whole speech as a caption, compress the peroration in a powerful war cry. They come effectively not in every sentence, but only on the important and emphatic peaks of the mounting speech.

There is one other recent trend starting from oratory and spreading into other forms of prose—a trend which is becoming more and more the fashion of the day. To give a telling effect, inversions in the word order were always used. To avoid the appearance of a rhetorical flourish, an attempt is made to follow the modern speech and its rhythm, where the losely knit sentences proceed as in conversation, with the slow movement of our thought, leisurely elaborating and restricting the statements, explaining and illustrating them as though without any forethought or pre-established plan, where again these exigencies naturally allow all sorts of inversions, which therefore never sound rhetorical or artificial. In Tamil the endings of verbs or predicates have more or less the same form and their repetition at the end of every sentence robs it of its emphatic conclusion; the ending becomes a dead weight. Inversion, in imitating ordinary speech, brings back to life and power this predicate, now in an emphatic position in the sentence. In other places, where there is no inversion, the ordinary predicate is pronounced with a full mouthed emphasis almost in an

exaggerated way, without any slurring as in hurried speech; and, thus in contrast, it becomes very much alive. A new rhythm of speech moving with inversion and emphasis on phrases, has been developed.

Oratory has been explained at great length because most of the speeches are published as independent prose works. Therefore this study becomes the study of Tamil prose. Novels and dramas and very often poetry imitate this style of oratory.

Journals

Journals in Tamil were first started by Christian missions,[15] but later, others also took to journalism. There were weeklies and monthlies—religious and literary. In the twentieth century during the first world war people felt a thirst for foreign news. The freedom fight made local news also of great importance. Politics became of greater general interest. Newspapers rose in popularity and power. To start with, because of an attempt at literal translation, the style was stiff and laboured and there were unnecessary Sanskrit words, but later on when experience was gained, the style became more full of life and also true to the genius of the Tamil language. When Tiru-vi-ka became an editor,[16] journalism attained a dignity and tried to become more and more literary without ceasing to be simple. Journals including the weeklies and monthlies were the vehicles of modern thought and in the earlier part of the century they alone encouraged literary criticism, short stories, serial novels and popular science, particularly in their special issues.

Novels

The first great novel is *Piratāpamutaliyār Carittiram* by a District Munsiff (i.e. a subordinate judge of those times), Vētanāyakam Piḷḷai. The style is simple though full of power

15. Tamiḻ Itaḻ [Tamil Magazine] in 1831 A.D.
16. Tiru-vi-ka, Editor of Tēcapaktaṉ in 1917 A.D.

and elegance. This novel, like Thackeray's, is famous for giving us a picture of the society of its day. It reminds us of Fielding's *Tom Jones* in its digressions. It belongs to an age when people were passing from the *purāṇic* stories to the new novel. The characters are well defined and individualised enough, but perhaps they do not completely cease to be types. There is a sly humour and an enjoyable satire on the foibles of the various kinds of people. It is still read with pleasure.

The next important land mark is *Kamalāmpāḷ Carittiram* by Rājam Aiyar, an author who was so full of promise but who unfortunately died young. It is a beautiful picture of the life of the Tamil village in Tirunelveli District. His vivid description of the Brahmin family shows the way to other social novels. The characterisation is perfect and we can never forget even the minor personalities. Plot construction has not become an art. The influence of the Victorian Novel on which these authors have been fed, is responsible for this. The style is pliable and Tamil prose proves its capacity to express in the living rhythm all the movements of the heart.

Now begins an era of translation, first translations from Bengali, later from English, often unfortunately translations of the novels of G. W. M. Reynolds. Even a great Tamil scholar like Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ has adapted such a story for his *Kumutavalli* which is full of beautiful realistic descriptions. Conan Doyle's detective stories become popular in Tamil in the second decade of this century. Plot becomes important in these stories. Attempts are made to write original detective stories and in this line *Tuppaṟiyum Cāmpu* of the late Makātēvaṉ, with its abundance of humour, is perhaps the best.

Poṉṉucāmi Piḷḷai of the Burma Government Service wrote a number of novels depicting the social and family life of the Tamils, but his novels still continue to be stories of adolescence.[17] Mātavaiyā's *Patmāvati Carittiram* is also im-

17. Poṉṉucāmi Piḷḷai, Kamalāṭci, Civakumāran, etc.

portant. The author has a message of social reform which is the strength and also the weakness of this work of art. He speaks with personal experience and fervour, and to that extent the novel is powerful and interesting. But in his enthusiasm his message instead of becoming one with his art tries to have an independent existence. This is the case with very many short stories and poems of this country.

With Kalki one enters another stage. Trained in journalism under the scholar Tiru-vi-ka, he developed an elegant style, which he came to use in his fiction. He was a prolific writer of short stories and voluminous novels.[18] He introduces healthy humour as against the vulgar humour of some of the journals of the early period. He will live by his historical novels. *Civakāmiyiṉ Capatam* gives us the picture of the Pallava age of the seventh century, bringing out the author's interest in art. Plot construction and characterisation have become important and successful. In his *Poṉṉiyiṉcelvaṉ*, the Cola age of Rāja Rāja lives before our eyes. The plot is interesting but here again the historical interest predominates. The number of characters with their high-sounding old Tamil names probably has this in view. This novel continues to a thousand and two hundred pages. Nobody can have the patience to read carefully through this voluminous novel and therefore much of the author's art runs to waste. His *Alai ōcai,* which received the award of Sahitya Akademi, describes modern India during the freedom struggle. It is, like Tolstoy's *War and Peace* though on a lower level, the story of a generation.

Dr. M. Varatarācaṉ, the Professor of Tamil in the Madras University has given dignity and respectability to novel writing even in the world of pandits who thought of this art as the hobby of those who failed to become pandits or scholars. His style is both simple and elegant, unlike the style of a majority of other novelists. His novels are success-

18. Kalki [Kiruṣṇamūrtti, R.], Kaṇaiyaliyiṉ Kaṉavu, Poymāṉ Karaṭu, etc. Kaḷvaṉiṉ Kātali, Pārttipaṉ Kaṉavu, etc.

ful and popular. *Akal viḷakku* has received the Sahitya Akademi Prize for the best book in Tamil of the year 1961. It is a story of two friends born and brought up in the same village and going to study in the same college. One ends as a great man whilst the other dies as a moral and physical wreck. From their birth the author shows that their behaviour forecasts their future, inspired as the one was by moral integrity and the other by pleasure seeking and egotism. He is also a prolific writer.[19] He has a way of his own reminding us of Montesquieu. The construction of the plot is loose. The digressions relating to the stylised character often occuring in the novels with the name Aṟavāḻi remind us of the author himself or of Tiru-vi-ka, and moralisations though perfect in themselves do not become one with the novel. But they are the attractions of his novel. He tries to understand and write how women take a false step. In a land where physical chastity or prostitution alone formed the theme of literature, this attempt at portraying women with feelings and passions as varying as those of men seems to be difficult even for him. In *Neñcil oru muḷ* the heroine, a married woman, has succumbed to the overtures of her first lover and becomes pregnant. This sin works a revolution and she becomes perfect. Nobody including the reader knows of her failings till the very end. When her own son and the legal daughter of her lover fall in love with each other, she has to confess and prevent an incestuous marriage. This is the "thorn in the heart" which is the title of the novel. Because of this, the earlier part of the story is not so gripping. The author must be congratulated for introducing such problems but this attempt also proves the difficulty he feels in dealing with this kind of theme. Unfortunately he does not try to explain the workings of the feminine mind. Lady writers like Lakṣmi have come to write and explain the feelings of womanhood.[20]

19. Varatarācaṉ, Dr. M., Viṭutalaiyā, Kuṟaṭṭai oli, Maṉa-c-cāṉṟu, Kaḷḷō-kāviyamō, Malar Viḷi, Kari-t-tuṇṭu, Maṇkuṭicai, etc.
20. Lakṣmi [Tiripuracuntari], Kāñcaṉaiyiṉkaṉavu, Peṇmaṉam, Nayakkar makkaḷ etc.

Psychological novels are now developing. In Akilaṉ's *Pāvai Viḷakku* the minds of a novelist and the various women who take interest in him are beautifully described and revealed.

Short Stories

The short story in its perfect form first appeared from the pen of V. V. S. Iyer.[21] Soon this comes into favour with the modern readers who are running a race with time. There is a host of successful writers, but a few names only are mentioned here, because of the trends developed by them.

Somewhere about the thirties of this century, a group of writers conducting the journal *Maṇi-k-koṭi* and calling themselves *Maṇi-k-koṭi* writers under the leadership of Vā. Rā. vociferously demanded that one should write as one speaks. This movement must be held to be successful to the extent that pedantic writing has now become a matter of history. The colloquialism of the dialects, however, could not be introduced into literature except in speeches of persons coming in the drama and the novel. This group is great for its short stories.

The greatest of the short story writers is Putumai-p-pittaṉ, a member of this group. He however makes his message, if it exists, take the perfect shape of art, and therefore he may be true when he states that he does not himself know the import of his stories.[22] He is a prolific writer, but some of his short stories are bound to survive as excellent literature. He has the vision to see the poetic aspect of any situation however trivial it be and he describes it vividly and graphically so as to appeal to our heart, whether we understand him correctly or not. He is the prose-poet of darkness and mystery coining phrases that are sometimes jaw-breaking but always suitable and expressive. He deals

21. Aiyar, V. V. S., Maṅkayarkkaraciyiṉ Kātal.

22. Putumai-p-pittaṉ [Viruttācalam, S.], Putumai-p-pittaṉ Kaṭṭuraikaḷ, p. 7.

with modern situations and also tries to reinterpret according to his light the mythological stories such as that of Akalikai or Śiva coming as a labourer.[23] There is humour and pathos and sometimes biting satire, as in the story where God comes as an ordinary layman.[24] This group of writers is still powerful in writing novels and short stories. Rakunātaṉ's novel[25] and stories, for instance, translated into Czech, we are told, have a wide circulation.

In short stories propaganda and didacticism come in, as for example, even in the most successful stories of Rājāji, the former Governor General of India, and of Aṇṇāturai, the Leader of the Dravidian Progressive Party.[26]

Drama

The drama slowly tries to assume the form of Western drama. At the beginning of this century are written plays in verse form in imitation of Shakespeare and Sheridan. Cuntaram Piḷḷai's *Maṉōṉmaṇīyam* started this fashion. But this kind of drama can only be read and enjoyed, never acted on the stage.

Campanta Mutaliyār, the grand old man is still living with us. A scholar and a lawyer, he has translated Shakespearean dramas and dramas from Sanskrit. In addition he has written a number of original dramas of his own, tragedies, comedies, and farces, in all numbering almost eighty.[27] He was one of the founders of the Cukuṇa Vilāsa Sabha for acting dramas, and he has acted almost all of his own plays on the stage of that society. He has been thus

23. *Ibid.*, Kāñcaṉai, p. 121. Cāpavimōcaṉam.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 163. Kaṭavuḷum Kantacāmi-p-piḷḷaiyum.
25. Rakunātaṉ, Pañcum Paciyum.
26. Rājāji, Rājājiyiṉ Ciṟukataikaḷ, Kuṭṭikkataikaḷ.
Aṇṇāturai, Aṇṇāviṉ Ciṟukataikaḷ.
27. Campanta Mutaliyār, Pammal, Amalātittaṉ [translation of Hamlet]. Makipati [translation of Macbeth], Capāpati, Maṉōkarā, etc.

responsible for making drama and acting respectable. His plays have been written with an inner understanding of the stage and from that point of view are perfect. His *Maṉōkarā* was very much appreciated in the early days and its adaptation appeared as a film. He took the hero's part in various dramas and therefore wrote serious plays though introducing the *vidūṣaka* or comic character in many of them. Latterly he has come to write his series of farces, enjoying the ordinary comical situations, sometimes natural and sometimes forced and artificial. On the whole he will be remembered more as a patron of drama rather than as a dramatist.

During the freedom struggle a number of dramas like *Katariṉ veṟṟi*, "the success of Katar", and *Tēciya-k-koṭi*, 'the national flag", with the motive of emphasising the fight for National Freedom, were written by T. K. Pāvalar and acted to the great satisfaction of the audience of that age. Similar propaganda dramas followed. Drama was also used for health propaganda and other such purposes.

For a long time the mythological stories held the field but more recently social dramas have become popular. The popular trend now seems to be in favour of historical dramas depicting the greatness of the glory of the great Kings like Rājarāja and the chieftains who opposed the British rule in the early days like Kaṭṭapommaṉ. Literary figures like Avvaiyār are also popular. Nevertheless, it is the national feeling for these great names and the greatness of the actors rather than the intrinsic worth of the drama that is responsible for these successes.

The cinema has become much more popular but has not driven out drama. Most of the successful actors in the films have started as actors on the stage. That shows the greatness achieved by the actors. Both in the cinema and on the stage the oratorical style of the platform casts its shadow. But in recent times a much more natural style, delivered in a natural way has been preferred. But neither the stage nor the cinema has succeeded in freeing itself from music.

Mention must be made of the radio drama, a new development which requires a greater skill in using language. For here sounds as heard without any further help of the scene, dress and all the other paraphernalia of the stage, should suggest the context and even changes in the scene. Such a drama has necessarily to be short. Perhaps in Tamil the radio plays are much more successful than the ordinary dramas. But even here we have to wait for really outstanding dramas which will survive into the future.

Poetry

The religious or rather the spiritual trend in Tamil literature takes the form of nationalism in the poetry of Pārati (Subrahmanya Bharathi) who is the greatest poet of the twentieth century. He actually begins the period of awakened Tamil land. The Motherland is not an empty metaphor to the Tamilian of this century. To one who worships the Divine Head as the Mother shining as the various virtues of the world, this conception of a Motherland is not mere abstraction. It is as concrete and real, as sweet and ennobling, and as powerful and inspiring as one's own mother, as one's own mother's milk and as one's own God. The *Vantēmātaram* song describes this living reality; and it was translated into Tamil from Bengali by Pārati.

Pārati gives expression in his poetry to this love of the Tamil Land, Tamil language and India as the love of the great Śakti.[28] The very sound of the name of Tamil country, he sings, is nectar unto the ears of Tamilians; there is a unique and inexplicable power born at the very mention of the 'fatherland', the Tamil land.[29] Tamil country to him is the totality of all its culture, and all its natural beauty. The very earth of this land, the rivers and mountains, the fruits and the grains, the trees and the birds, and, more than

28. Pārati, Cuppiramaṇiya, Pārati Nūlkaḷ, p. 1. Vantēmātaram, p. 8. Pāratamātā, p. 33. Centamiḻnāṭu, p. 43. Vāḻiya centamiḻ.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 33. Centamiḻ nāṭu.

all, the men and women are dear to the poet, because of its culture and its message to the whole world. The country is nothing but the embodiment of its culture and history—the drama of its heroes, its poets, its seers, and its chaste women, all contributing their best to the world. The great power and influence of his poetry lies in his use of the folk-song rhythm, called *cintu*. The earlier experiment in the speech rhythm, of the common man guided by music has created this verse form for the Tamil poetry of the modern democracy, and our poet using this popular metre in all its varied richness and beauty appeals to the ear and heart of the common man. His poetry traces its lineage to the *cittars*, the eclectic saints of Tamil land.[30] Like the later *cittars*, he writes his autobiography in verse in the favourite metre of eight *cīr* lines, explaining his spiritual evolution. Democracy becomes spiritualised. Even the barking dog, the temple bell and the beggar's cry become equally divine songs.[31] He dances joyfully with the oppressed and the depressed at the very idea of freedom.[32] Everything gains the poetic hue of the rainbow of his imagination and the divine music of the harp of life. To him all religions are one. But there is no negativism or turning away from life. He sees God in every kind of relationship.[33] The song of Kaṇṇaṉ or Kriṣṇa, coming in the best traditions of the Āḻvārs but in a modern rhythm, is thus of great significance. Life on this earth is life divine and all around is but God in His varied form, overflowing with love. His *Kuyil pāṭṭu* ("koel song") is on the one hand a fairy tale and a romance, and on the other, a mystic poem full of inner meaning to the select few.

Pāratitācaṉ (Bharatidasan), the "disciple of Pārati" as he chooses to call himelf, is another poet whose name is Kaṉakacuppurattiṉam. He is immersed in ancient Tamil literature and he brings back that rich tradition to enrich

30. *Ibid.*, p. 323. Pārati Aṟupattāṟu 1.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 275. Taṉi-p-pāṭal: Nilavum, viṇmīṉum, kāṟṟum.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 52. Cutantira-p-paḷḷu.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 395-441 Kaṇṇaṉ Pāṭṭu.

the new poetry, the new rhythm of democracy. He is a master in weaving words into charming and enchanting verses. But he represents another trend in modern poetry, a revolt against the recent past from the social point of view. The story of Bilhana is made into a revolutionary poem. The poet in that story and his lady-love, who is the princess of the land, appeal to the citizens as against the king in the name of true love; the citizens rise in revolt and solemnize their marriage.[34] Pāratitācaṉ's poems on Nature are brilliant flashes of a poetic mind. Unfortunately his missionary zeal as a social reformer gets the upper hand and sometimes stifles his poetry. This is another will-of-the-wisp misleading the poets of this age, when poetry tries to compete with political oratory to lose its purity and restraint, its economy and eternal power.

The other great trend in modern poetry is humour and a concern for the children and the women. Kavimaṇi (Kavimani Desiga Vinayagam Pillai) illustrates this trend. Having been a teacher in a women's college he has known the necessity for women's regeneration and the great demand for children's poetry. He exclaims, "what great fortune to be born a woman".[35] To the children he sings of the roses and their robbers, the honey-bees; of the rat entering the grand-mother's pot, and also of the cycle whose wheels move like the younger sister following the elder brother.[36] Nursery rhymes and children's songs are much to be desired, but no book of outstanding merit has yet come. Aḷa. Vaḷḷiyappā and others of the children's literature society are writing verses and stories for children.[37]

34. Pāratitācaṉ. [Kaṉakacuppurattiṉam], Pāratitācaṉ Kavitaikaḷ, pp. 17-35., Puraṭci-k-kaviñaṉ.

35. Kavimaṇi [Tēcikavināyakam piḷḷai], Malarum Mālaiyum, p. 148.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 93 and 94, 88 and 99.

37. Vaḷḷiyappā Aḷa. Malarum Uḷḷam.

Translations and adaptations from Western languages form another trend. They look almost original in Kavimaṇi. The *Umarkayyām* which he has translated looks like an original Tamil poem full of Tamil references and Tamil atmosphere.

Another trend is the reinterpretation of the older stories; sometimes even changing the story. The Buddha appeals to Kavimaṇi, Pāñcāli to Pārati, Bilhana to Pāratitācaṉ, Akalya to Veḷḷakkāl Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār, Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki and Putumai-p-pittaṉ.[38]

Even though the poets are Hindus, they are inspired by the stories of other religions: Kavimaṇi writes on Jesus, Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki on Mary Magdalene.[39] This eclecticism is at its best in the poems of Tiru-vi-ka where, like Saint Rāmakriṣṇa, he experiences the joy of Viṣṇu worship and the joy of the worship of Jesus, and feels at the end no difference.[40]

There is also a dissatisfaction with mythology, which, according to some, has brought about the downfall of the Tamil nation. This mythology comes to be identified with Brahmanism. The stories are held to falsify the truth and to glorify the caste system. This results sometimes in mere condemnation, whilst at other times the stories are retold in terms of this attitude of revolt against the great personalities of mythology. The writers of this school sing or write the glories of Rāvaṇa against Rāma, condemning Prahlada as a dupe falling a prey to Brahmin strategy, and bringing all the

38. Kavimaṇi, Āciyajōti.
Aṇṇāturai, C. N., Aṇṇāviṉ Ciṟukataikaḷ.
Pārati, Pāñcāli Capatam.
Pāratitācaṉ, Puraṭci-k-kaviñaṉ.
Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār, Veḷḷakkāl, Akalikai veṇpā.
Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki, Tamiḻ-k-kumari.
Putumai-p-pittaṉ, Cāpavimōcaṉam, Akalikai.
39. Kavimaṇi, Iraṭcakar.
Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki, Tamiḻ-k-kumari.
40. Tiru-vi-ka, Ēcu Aruḷ Vēṭṭal, Tirumāl Aruḷ Vēṭṭal.

older poets before their so-called court of the God of Justice.[41] Latterly, in some literary works, sex comes to play a more and more important part, sometimes innocent, sometimes obscene.

As of old, a few conceptions, captivating the mind of man, appropriate for themselves, in the modern world, certain catch words, and these terms in the present atmosphere, because of the bubbling enthusiasm in the mind of the audience rather than because of intrinsic worth and significance of the description of these ideas, become surcharged with an unknown energy. These slogans become the war-cry of groups and factions even in their poetry.

The influence of music on Tamil poetry is nothing new. But the motion pictures true to the traditions of Tamil drama still require the prop of dance and music. The songs in Tamil are composed according to the dictates of the tune and to the necessity of the content. These poems, though for a short time only, receive a wide publicity. Fortunately the number of songs in every film is slowly coming down.

The all round development revealed by this survey is indeed remarkable but the high water mark has not yet been reached. The future is very promising and one may close with this hopeful note.

41. Kuḻantai, pulavar, Rāvaṇa kāviyam.
Pāratitācaṉ, Iraṇiyaṉ allatu Iṇaiyaṟṟa Vīraṉ.
Aṇṇāturai, C. N., Nītitēvaṉ Mayakkam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Akastiyar — [1] Pañcapūta ārūṭa tattuva cōtiṭam, Muṉicāmi Mutaliyār, 1899.
[2] Akattiyar Citta Vaittiyam.

2. Aḻakiyamaṇavāḷa-p-Perumāḷ, — Ācārya Hrutayam, Sriṉīvāca Rākavācār, Madras, 1906.

3. Amitacākarar, — Yāpparuṅkalam, Vol. I., Pavāṉantar Kaḻakam, Madras, 1916.

4. Amirta Kavirāyar, — Oru tuṟai-k-kōvai.

5. Aṇṇāturai, C. N. — [1] Aṇṇāviṉ Ciṟukataikaḷ.
[2] Nītitēvaṉ Mayakkam.

6. Aptuṟṟakīm, — Muslim Tamiḻ-p-pulavarkaḷ, Universal Publishers, Madras, 1957.

7. Aristotle, — Nicomachian — Ethics.

8. Āṟumuka Nāvalar, — Pālapāṭam, Vols. I, II, III & IV, Citampara Caivappirakāca Vittiyā Cālai, Citamparam.

9. Aruṇakirinātar, — Tiru-p-pukaḻ, Part I & II, Madras, 1939.

10. Ativīrarāma Pāṇṭiyaṉ, — [1] Kūrma Purāṇam.
[2] Naiṭatam, Ed. Katiraivēṟ Piḷḷai,

11. Avvaiyār, — Nalvaḻi, Nīti-k-kaḷañciyam, Ed., Murray & Co., Madras, 1959.

12. Ayyar, V. V. S., — [1] The Kuṟaḷ or the Maxims of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 3rd Edn., V. V. S. Krishnamurti (Ed.) Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, 1952.
[2] Maṅkaiyarkkaraciyiṉ Kātal,

13. Basham, — "The Wonder that was India", Vol. I, Evergreen Encyclopaedia, New York, 1951.

14. Beschi, Rev. C. J., — [1] Tēmpāvaṇi, Vols. I, II & III, Imprimeric de la Mission Catholique, Pondicherry, 1927-1928.
[2] Catur Akarāti.
[3] Vētiyar Oḻukkam.

15. Bhatta [Tr.], — Bhagvad Gita.

16. Cāmikkaṇṇu Piḷḷai, L. D., — Indian Ephemeries.

17. Cāminātaiyar, Dr. U. V. [Ed.], — [1] Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, 4th Edn., 1949.
[2] Kuṟuntokai, 1st Edn., 1937.
[3] Paripāṭal, 3rd Edn., 1948.

[4] Patiṟṟuppattu 3rd Edn., 1941.
[5] Pattuppāṭṭu, 4th Edn., 1950.
[6] Puṟanāṉūṟu, 4th Edn., 1950.
[7] Vaṇṭuviṭu tūtu.
[8] Eṉ caritam, Tiyākarāca Vilācam, Madras.

18. Cantira Cēkara Kavirāya Paṇṭitar [Ed.], — Varuṇakulātittaṉ Maṭal, Paḻavai, Tampucāmi Mutaliyār, Madras.

19. Cussie, Chetty, Simon, — The Tamil Plutarch, 1st Edn., General Publishers Limited, Colombo, 1946.

20. Campanta Mutaliyār P., — [1] Amalātittaṉ [Tr. Hamlet].
[2] Makipati [Tr. Macbeth].
[3] Capāpati.
[4] Maṉōkarā, etc.,

21. Cāttaṉār, — Maṇimēkalai, 4th Edn., Tiyakarāca Vilācam, Madras, 1949.

22. Cēkkiḻār, — Periyapurāṇam, 3rd Edn., Caivacittānta Camācam, Madras, 1950.

23. Cēṉāvaraiyar, — Commentary on Collatikāram, Kaṉēcaiyar [Ed.], Cuṉṉākam, Ceylon, 1938.

24. Centamiḻ, — Volumes, Pub. Muturai-t-tamiḻ-c-caṅkam, Maturai.

25. Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār — Tirukkayilāya ñāṉā ulā, Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai, Tiruppaṉantāḷ Mutt, Tiruppaṉantāḷ, 1950.

26. Cevvai-c-Cūṭuvār, — Pākavatam, Varatarāca Aiyaṅkār [Ed.]

27. Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, — [1] Kaliṅkattupparaṇi, Murray & Co., Madras, 1960.
[2] Kaliṅkattupparaṇi, A. Gōpālaiyar, [Ed.] Madras, 1923.

28. Cītakkāti, — Cītakkāti Noṇṭi Nāṭakam, Muhmad Usen Naynar [Ed.], University of Madras, Madras.

29. Civañaṉa Muṉivar, — [1] Tiruttoṇṭar Tirunāmakkōvai.
[2] Ilakkaṇa Viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi.
[3] Tolkāppiya Mutaṟ cūttira Virutti.
[4] Pāyira Virutti.
[5] Cittānta Marapu Kaṇṭaṉam.
[6] Kamparāmāyaṇa Mutaṟ caṅkōttara Virutti,
[7] Amutāmpikai Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ [reprint] T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1955.

30. Civappirakācar, Civappirakācar Centamiḻ Nūlkaḷ, Civañāṉapālaya Cuvāmikaḷ Mutt, Pommaiyapāḷaiyam, 1944.

31. Civavākkiyar, Civavākkiyar Pāṭal, Cittarpāṭalkaḷ, Aru. Rāmanātaṉ [Ed.] Madras, 1959.

32. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar, [1] Patiṉāṟām Nūṟṟāṇṭu-t-Tamiḻ-p-Pulavar Varālāṟu. [Sixteenth century Tamil poets] 1st Edn., Madras, 1943.

33. Cuntaram Piḷḷai, P., Some Mile Stones in the History of Tamil Literature.
The Tamilian Antiquary, Vol. I, The Tamilian Archaeological Society Series 3, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, 1909.

34. Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār, Veḷḷakkāl, Akalikai Veṇpā.

35. Cuppiramaṇiya Piḷḷai, K., [1] Taṉi-p-pāṭal tiraṭṭu, Vol. I & II, B. Rattina Nayakkar & Sons, Madras, 1939.

36. Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki, Tamiḻ-k-kumari.

37. Cupratīpa-k-kavirāyar, [1] Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṉ Kātal.
[2] Viṟali Viṭu Tūtu, Prema Publishers, Madras, 1958.

38. Dīkṣitar, V. R. R., Tirukkuṟaḷ with English translation, Adyar Library Series, No. 68, Madras, 1949.

39. Drew, W. H., Tirukkuṟaḷ, T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1958.

40. Ellappa Nāvalar, Caiva, Tiruvaruṇaikkalampakam.

41. Ellis, F. W., Tirukkuṟaḷ, Ellis Commentary, Madras University Tamil Series, No. 20, Madras. 1955.

42. Epigraphica Indica, Vols. I, III, X, XII, XIII.

43. Gandhi, M. K., An Autobiography or My Experiments with Truth, 2nd Edn., [Reprint], Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1945.

44. Iḷamurukaṉār, Mayilaikkiḻār [Ed.], Tēvāram Aṭaṅkaṉmuṟai, Caiva Cittānta Camācam, Madras, 1953.

45. Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram, 3rd Edn., Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Madras, 1927.

46. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII.

47. Inscriptions, No. 65/1897.
No. 289/1628.
No. 471/1912.
No. 482/1905.

Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Southern Circle, II Part, 1913.

48. Iraṭṭaiyar, — [1] Tiruvāmāttūr-k-kalampakam. [2] Tillai-k-kalampakam. [3] Kaccikkalampakam.

49. Iṟaiyaṉār, — Akapporuḷ Kōvintarāca Mutaliyār & others [Ed.], Pavāṉantar Kaḻakam, Series No. 1, Madras, 1959.

50. Journal of American Oriental Society.

51. Kalittokai — [1] Murray & Co., Madras, 1957, 1st Edn. [2] Iḷavaḻakaṉār [Ed.] 3rd Edn., T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras 1949.

52. Kiruṣṇamūrtti, R., [Kalki], — [1] Kaṉaiyāḻiyiṉ Kaṉavu. [2] Poymāṉ Karaṭu. [3] Kaḷvaṉiṉ Kātali. [4] Pārttipaṉ Kaṉavu. [5] Civakāmiyiṉ Capatam. [6] Alai Ōcai. [7] Poṉṉiyiṉ Celvaṉ.

53. Kampaṉ, — Kamparāmāyaṇam, Vols. I to IX, Murray & Co., Madras, 1958.

54. Kāṉ Cāyapu Cantai.

55. Kaṉakacapai Piḷḷai, V., — The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 2nd Edn., T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1956.

56. Kavimaṇi Tēcikavināyakam Piḷḷai, — [1] Malarum Mālaiyum, 6th Edn., Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1956. [2] Āciya Cōti, 3rd Edn., Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1952.

57. Kiruṣṇa-p-piḷḷai, H. A., — Ratṣaṇiya Yāttirīkam.

58. Kiruṣṇacāmi Aiyaṅkār, Dr. S., — A History of Early Vaishnavism in South India, Madras University Series No. 4, The Oxford University Press, Madras, 1920.

59. Koṅkuvēḷir, — Peruṅkatai, Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Madras, 1924.

60. Kōpālakiruṣṇa Pārati, — Nantaṉār Carittira-k-kīrttaṉai.

61. Kōpālaṉ, K., — The History of the Pallavas of Kāñci.

62. Kuḻantai, Pulavar, — Rāvaṇa Kāviyam.

63. Kumarakuruparar. — Sri Kumarakuruparar Pirapantaṅkaḷ, 1st Edn., Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Madras, 1939.

64. Kuṇaṅkuṭi Mastāṉ, — Kuṇaṅkuṭi Mastāṉ Cākipu Pāṭalkaḷ.

65. Kuṇavīra Paṇṭitar, — Nēminātam, R. Rākava Aiyaṅkār [Ed.] Centamiḻ Series No. 6, Maturai-t-Tamil-c-Caṅkam, Maturai, 1923.

66. Kuppucāmi Cāstiri, — The Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference.

67. Lakṣmi, [Tiripuracuntari] — [1] Kāñcaṉaiyiṉ Kaṉavu.
[2] Peṇmaṉam.
[3] Nāyakkar Makkaḷ, etc.

68. Māṇikkavācakar, — [1] Tiruvācakam, 1st Edn., Murray & Co., Madras, 1956.
[2] Tirukkōvaiyār with Pērāciriyar Commentary, 2nd Edn., Āṟumukanāvalar [Ed.] Ceylon.

69. Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ, — Māṇikkavācakar Varalāṟum Kālamum, Vols. I & II, 2nd Edn., T.S.I.S.S.-W.P. Society, Madras, 1957.

70. Mārimuttu-p-piḷḷai — Anīti Nāṭakam.

71. Mayilainātar, — Commentary on Naṉṉūl, 1st Edn., Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Madras, 1918.

72. — Meykaṇṭa Cāttiram, 2nd Edn., Tarumapura Ātīṉam, Pub. No. 377, Tarumapuram [1956].

73. Mīṉākṣicuntaram Piḷḷai, Mahavittuvāṉ, — Mīṉākṣicuntaram Piḷḷai Pirapanta-t-tiraṭṭu, Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Madras.

74. Mīṉākṣicuntaraṉ, T. P., — [1] Piṟantatu Eppaṭiyō, 3rd Edn., Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1953.
[2] Cūḷāmaṇi Pāṭṭum Urainaṭaiyum, Ceṉṉai-t-tamiḻ-c-Caṅkam Series No. 6, Madras, 1944.
[3] Cayāmil Tiruppāvai Tiruvempāvai, Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras-1, 1961.

75. Mukkūṭaṟ paḷḷu, — M. Aruṇācalam [Ed.], 2nd Ed., Tamil Nūlakam, Madras, 1949.

76. Murdoch, John, — Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books, 1st Edn., The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1865.

77. Muttu-t-tāṇṭavar, — Muttu-t-tāṇṭavar Patam.

78. Nacciṉār-k-kiṉiyar, — [1] Commentary on Tolkāppiyam—Poruḷatikāram.
[2] Commentary on Kalittokai.
[3] Commentary on Pattu-p-pāṭṭu.
[4] Commentary on Cīvakacintāmaṇi.

79. Nallā-p-Piḷḷai. Pāratam.

80. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar Naṟṟiṇai [Reprint]. T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1956.

81. Nāṟkavirāca Nampi Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam.

82. Nīlakaṇṭa Cāstiri, K. A., [1] Foreign Notices of South India, Madras University Historical Series 14, Madras, 1939.
[2] The Colas, Vols. I, II & III, University of Madras, Madras, 1935.
[3] History of South India, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1955.
[4] The Pandya Kingdom, Luzac & Co., London, 1929.

83. Nobili, Robert De, [1] Ñāṉōpatēca Kāṇṭam.
[2] Mantiramālai, etc.

84. Oṭṭakkūttar, [1] Mūvar Ulā, Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.] Adyar Library Series, Madras, 1946.
[2] Kulōttuṅkaṉ Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ.
[3] Takkyākapparaṇi; 2nd Edn., Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar [Ed.], Madras, 1945.

85. Paṇṭārattār, T. V. S., [1] The History of the Later Colas, Vols. I & II (Tamil), 3rd Edn., Annamalai University, Aṇṇāmalainagar, 1958.
[2] Pāṇṭiyar Varalāṟu, Kumpakōṇam, 1940.
[3] A History of Tamil Literature—[13, 14, 15 centuries] (Tamil) 1st Edn., Annamalai University, Aṇṇāmalainagar, 1955.

86. Parañcōti Muṉivar, Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam.

87. Pārati [C. Cuppiramaṇiya Pāratiyār] Pārati Nūlkaḷ: Poetry, Government of Madras, Madras, 1954.

88. Pārati, S. S. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 2nd Edn., Maturai-t-Tamiḻ-c-Caṅkam, Maturai, 1934.

89. Pāratitācaṉ [1] Pāratitācaṉ Kavitaikaḷ, Vol. I, 8th Edn., Centamiḻ Nilaiyam, Rāmaccantirapuram, 1952.
[2] Iraṇiyaṉ allatu Iṇaiyaṟṟavīraṉ. 8th Edn., T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society Madras, 1947.

90. Patiṉeṇkīḻ-k-kaṇakku

91. Patiṉōrām Tirumuṟai Iḷamurukaṉ [Ed.], Tiruppaṉantāḷ Kāci Mutt, Tiruppaṉantāḷ, 1950.

92. Paṭṭiṉattār — Paṭṭiṉattār Pāṭal, 5th Edn., Raṅkacāmi Mutaliyār & Sons, Madras 1940.

93. Pavaṇanti — Naṉṉūl [21st Edn.], (Pub.) Āṟumuka-nāvalar, Madras [1955].

94. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai — Viyākkiyāṉam, Irupattunālāyira-p-paṭi.

95. Piḷḷai-p-Perumāḷ Aiyaṅkār — Aṣṭappirapantam, Murray & Co., Madras, 1957.

96. Poṉṉucāmi Piḷḷai — [1] Kamalāṭci.
[2] Civakumāraṉ, etc.

97. Pope, Dr. G. U. — [1] Tirukkuṟaḷ [Tr.], T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1958.
[2] Tiruvācakam [Tr.].

98. Poyyāmoḻi-p-Pulavar — Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai, T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras.

99. Pukaḻēnti-p-Pulavar — Naḷaveṇpā, Murray & Co., Madras, 1959.

100. Puttamittirar — Vīracōḻiyam with Peruntēvaṉār's Commentary, Pavānantar Kaḻakam Series 3, Madras, 1942.

101. Putumai-p-pittaṉ — [1] Putumai-p-pittaṉ Kaṭṭuraikaḷ, 2nd Edn., Star Publications, Madras, 1956.
[2] Kāñcaṉai, 2nd Edn., Kalaimakaḷ Kāriyālayam, Madras, 1955.

102. Rākava Aiyaṅkār, M. [Ed.] — [1] Peruntokai, Maturai-t-tamiḻ-c-caṅkam series 62, Maturai, 1935.
[2] Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai, I Part Paḻaṉiappa Brothers, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi.
[3] Cācaṉa-t-tamil-k-kavi caritam, Madras, 1937.

103. Rājāji [C. Rājagōpālāccāri] — [1] Rājājiyiṉ Ciṟukataikaḷ.
[2] Rājājiyiṉ Kuṭṭikkataikal.

104. Rakunātaṉ — Pañcum Paciyum.

105. Rāmaliṅkar — Aintu Tirumuṟaikaḷ, Camaraca Caṉmārkka Caṅkam, Madras, 1932.

106. Ramappaiyaṉ Ammāṉai — Rāmaccantiraṉ Ceṭṭiyār [Ed.] Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

107. Schweitzer, Albert — Indian Thought and Its Development Ist Edn., Wilco Publishing House, Bombay, 1960.

108. South India Inscriptions, — Vols. II Part 3, V & VIII.

109. Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai [Ed.] — T. Kaṉakacuntaram Piḷḷai, 1st Edn., Kumāracāmi Nāyuṭu Sons, Madras, 1921.

110. Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ — Pulavar Purāṇam, 3rd Edn., T. M. Centilnāyakam Piḷḷai [Ed.], Madras, 1931.

111. Tāṇṭavarāya Cuvāmikaḷ — Kaivalya Navanītam, 6th Edn., Kō.cita. Mutt, Citamparam, 1941.

112. Taṇṭi — Taṇṭi Alaṅkāram, 2nd Edn., 1943. T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Pub. No. 215, Madras.

113. Tattuvarāyar — Aṭaṅkaṉ Muṟai. Kōcita Mutt, Citambaram [S.I.].

114. Tāyumāṉavar — Tāyumāṉava Aṭikaḷ Tiruppāṭalkaḷ, 3rd Edn., T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras.

115. Tirukūṭarācappa-k-Kavirāyar — [1] Tirukkuṟṟālanātar Ulā.
[2] Tirukkuṟṟāla-k-kuṟavañci.
[3] Tirukkuṟṟāla Ūṭal.

116. [4] Tirukkuṟṟāla-t-talapurāṇam, Kuṟṟālanāta cuvāmi Tēvastāṉam, Courtalam, 1955.

117. Tirumūlar — Tirumantiram.

118. Tiruvaḷḷuvar — Tirukkuṟaḷ Urai-k-kottu, 3rd Edn. Kāci Mutt, Tiruppaṉantāḷ, 1960

119. Tiru Vi-Ka — [1] Vāḻkkai-k-kuṟippukaḷ.
[2] Tiṟumāl Aruḷ Vēṭṭal.
[3] Kiṟistuviṉ Aruḷ Vēṭṭal, 2nd Edn., Cātu Press, Madras, 1938, 1949.

120. Tivyappirapantam — Vols. I, II, III & IV. 1st Edn., Murray & Co., Madras, 1956.

121. Tōlāmoḻi-t-tēvar — Cūḷāmaṇi, Vols. I & II, 1st Edn., Dr. U. V. Cāminātaiyar, Library, Madras, 1954.

122. Tolkāppiyar — Tolkāppiyam, 2nd Edn., T.S.I.S.S.W.P. Society, Madras, 1954.

123. Turai Araṅkaṉār, M. A., — [1] Caṅkakāla-c-Ciṟappu-p-Peyarkaḷ, Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1960.
[2] The religion and philosophy of Tēvaram, Book I & II, Madras University Tamil Department Publication Series No. 21, Madras, 1959.

124. Vaiyāpuri-p-piḷḷai, S. — [1] Ilakkiya Maṇimālai, 1st Edn., Tamil-p-puttakālayam, Madras, 1954.
[2] Tamiḻ-c-cuṭar Maṇikaḷ, 2nd Edn., Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1952.
[3] Ed. Puṟattiraṭṭu.

125. Vākīca Muṉivar	Ñāṉāmirtam, Annamalai University, 1954.
126. Vaḷḷiyappā, Aḻa.	Malarum Uḷḷam, Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras.
127. Varatarācaṉ, Dr. M.	Kaḷḷō Kāviyamō, Malarviḻi, Karittuṇṭu, Neñcil Oru Muḷ, Akal Viḷakku, Maṇ Kuṭicai, Kuṟaṭṭai Oli, Maṉa-c-cāṉṟu etc., Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras.
128. Vartarāja Aiyaṅkār	Pākavatam.
129. Varatuṅkaṉ,	Brahmōtra Kāṇṭam, Kāci-k-Kāṇṭam.
130. Vēṅkaṭarājulu Reṭṭiyār [Ed.],	Srīpurāṇam.
131. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār, N. M.,	Akanāṉūṟu, Vol. I, 1st Edn., 1943, Vol. 2, 1st Edn., 1946, Vol. 3, 1st Edn., 1948. Pub. V. P. P. M. K. Vicuvanātaṉceṭṭiyār, Pākanēri.
132. Vēṇukōpāl, M. V.,	Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi-c-Corpoḻivu malar, Jaiṉa-t-tamiḻ Ilakkiya Maṉṟam, Kāñcīpuram.
133. Vētānta Tēcikar,	Tēcika-p-pirapantam, R. Raṅkacāmi Aiyaṅkār, B.A., B.L., Tanjore, 1944.
134. Villi-p-puttūrar,	Villipāratam, Kriṣṇamāccāri [Ed.], Madras. Villipāratam, Cuppiramaṇiya Kavirāyar [Ed.], Madras.
135. Wheeler,	Ancient India, Vol. II, 1946.

INDEX

A

Accuta, 51
Agastya Bhaṭṭā, 158, 159
Ahalya, 113
ahimsa, 51, 93
Aimperuṅkāppiyam, 99
Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, 18
Aintiṇai, 107
Aintiṇai aimpatu, 60
Aintiṇai eḻupatu, 60
Aiyaṭikaḷ kāṭavar kōṉ, 133, 134
Ajamukhi, 113
Akalikai veṇpā, 158
Akal viḷakku, 183
akam, 17, 18, 19, 24, 27, 29, 35, 53, 54, 59, 80, 81, 128, 129, 137, 138, 140, 143, 144.
Akanāṉūṟu, 19
Akappēy-c-cittar, 164
aka-p-puṟam, 140
akaval, 17, 47, 65, 83, 162
Akilaṉ, 184
Alai ōcai, 182
Aḻa. Vaḷḷiyappā, 189
Alliyaracāṇi mālai, 170
Aḻukuṇic-c-cittar, 164
Amitacākarar, 12
Ammāṉai, 170
Anīti nāṭakam, 169, 171
Aṇṇāturai, 185
Aññavatai-p-paraṇi, 152
aṉpu, 55, 57, 64
Antaka-k-kavi Vīrarākavamuta-liyār, 120
Antāti, 128, 129, 134
Anurādhapura, 51
appālum aṭi cārntār, 71
Appar, 12, 65, 66, 71, 72, 74, 79, 90, 130
Arabic, 161
aṟam, 52, 53, 62, 63, 64, 109
Aṟappaḷīcura Catakam, 129
Aṟavaṇa aṭikaḷ, 43, 46
Aṟputa-t-tiruvantāti, 66
artha, 53, 54
artha śāstra, 58, 59, 85
aruḷ, 57
Aruḷ nilai Vicākaṉ, 158
Aruṇakirinātar, 155, 170
Aruṇakiriyār, 12
Aruṇācala Kavi, 171
Asura, 151
Aśvakaṇṭaṉ, 97
aṭaṅkaṉ muṟai, 152
Atirāvaṭikaḷ, 139
Ativīrarāmaṉ, 157
Ativīrarāma pāṇṭiyaṉ, 161
Atiyamāṉ, 148
aṭiyāṉ, 70
Aṭiyārkkunallār, 83
avaiyaṭakkam, 96
Avirōta Untiyār, 162
Avivēka pūrṇa kuru katai, 175
Avvaiyār, 6, 107, 186
Ayōdhya, 104, 115
Ayurvēdic work, 48
Ācāra-k-kōvai, 61, 62
ācārya, 81, 105
Ācu kavi vīraṉ, 157
āgamas, 67
Ājīvaka, 61
Āḻvār, 6, 8, 18, 64, 65, 68, 71, 76, 82, 96, 102, 104, 127, 143, 153, 156, 161, 188
Āṇṭāḷ, 13, 77, 156
Āṟṟu-p-paṭai, 28
Āṟumuka nāvalar, 175, 176, 177
Ātittaṉ, 130, 131
Āy, 63

B

Badrināth, 153
Balarāma, 52, 92
Banāras, 159
Bappaswami, 134
Bāla Bhārati, 158
Bāla Krișņa, 78
Bengāli, 181, 187
Beschi, 2, 97, 162, 175
Bhagavat Gītā, 157
Bhaktas, 72, 78
Bhakti, 2, 70
Bharata, 111, 112
Bhāgavata Purāņa, 49, 157
Bhānukōpa, 120
Bhāśa, 84
Bible, 10, 175
Brahma, 52
Brahma Sūtra, 69
Brihat Katha, 84
Buddha, 44, 135
Buddhavarma, 50
Buddhism, 44, 50, 51, 63, 65
Buddhist, 8, 49, 50, 51, 53, 74
Bunyan, 162

C

Caccantaṉ, 92
Cakravartti, 91
Calukya, 52, 148
Campanta Mudaliyār, 18
Campantar, 12, 65, 74, 75, 76, 80, 128, 130, 151, 163
Campavarāyar, 157
Caṅkalpa sūryōdhaya, 152
Caṅkam, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 30, 34, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 60, 62, 63, 76, 83, 88, 97, 124, 128, 129, 133, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 143, 147, 153
Caṇṭāḷa, 110
Cantaviruttam, 158
Caṭaiyaṉ, 103
Caṭaiya Varmaṉ Cuntara Pandya, 139
Catakam, 129
Cāmināta Iyer, 160, 176
Cāṇakya, 85, 88
Cāṅkiya-t-tāy, 85, 88
Cāṅkya, 45, 85, 130
Cāntaliṅkar, 162
Cāttaṉār, 43
Cempula-p-peyal nīrār, 22
Centalai, 134
Cevvai-c-cūṭuvār, 157
Ceyaṅkoṇṭāṉ, 12, 48
Ceylon, 38, 42, 50, 51, 102
Cēkkiḻār, 9, 12, 98, 121, 122, 125, 131
Cēṉāvaraiyar, 174
Cēntaṉ, 91
Cera, 34, 38, 62, 138, 139, 142
Cēramāṉ, 133, 134
Cēramaṉ perumāḷ nāyaṉār, 142
Cētupatis, 156
Cētupurāṇam, 167
China, 50
Chinglepet, 159
Christian, 161, 172, 175
Cilappatikāram, 11, 13, 20, 21, 34, 43, 45, 48, 83, 87, 99, 104, 113, 120, 149, 153, 173
cinema, 186
Ciṉṉappū, 127
Cintāmaṇi, 3, 63, 87, 90, 91, 97, 99, 107, 121, 136, 151, 162
Cintu, 170, 188
Ciṟupañca mūlam, 51, 61, 129
Ciṟupañca kāppiyam, 99, 100
Ciṟu-t-toṇṭar, 12
Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ, 163, 175
Citamparam, 130
Cittar, 163, 164, 188
Civakāmiyiṉ Capatam, 182
Civañāṉa Cittiyār, 162
Civañāṉa Cuvāmikaḷ, 167, 175
Civñāṉayapālaya Cuvāmikaḷ, 160
Civañāṉapōtam, 165, 175
Civa-p-pirakācar, 141, 154, 160
Civavākkiyar, 69, 70, 164
Cīṟā-p-purāṇam, 161

Ciṭṭu-k-kavi, 156
Cīvakan, 92, 93
Cītakkāti, 156, 161, 168
Coimbatore, 83
Corūpānantar, 159
Cola, 34, 35, 62, 102, 121, 138, 139, 147, 148, 149
Conan Doyle, 181
Cuntaram Piḷḷai, 11, 185
Cuntarar, 6, 65, 66, 71, 73, 74, 77, 80, 122, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 142.
Cuppiramaṇiya Yōki, 190
Cūḷāmaṇi, 87, 90, 97, 100, 151

D

Daṇḍin, 20, 87, 97
Dahara, 171
Dakṣa, 120, 150
Dākṣāyaṇi, 150
Dammapāla, 50
Dasaratha, 78, 105, 112
Deccan, 103
De Nobili, 174
Dēvaki, 78
Dēvas, 111
Dharma, 44, 52 to 54, 62, 95, 109, 112, 118, 121
Dharmapuram, 159
Dinnāga, 45, 50
Dramiḍācārya, 69
Dripata, 171
Dutch, 171

E

English, 2, 62, 169, 181
Eṭṭu-t-tokai, 17, 20
Ēkātacamālai, 139
Ēlāti, 51, 61, 129

F

French, 2
Fielding, 181

G

Gajabāhu, 42
Ganapati, 52
Ganges, 38, 108, 112
Ganga, 83
German, 2
Greek, 45
Guha, 105, 112
Guṇabhadra, 90
Guṇādya, 84
Guruñacampantar, 159
Guruparamparās, 9

H

Hanumāṉ, 104, 112
Haricandra, 157
Harihara, 122
Harṣa, 84, 157
Himālayas, 35, 38, 153
Himsa, 95
Hindu, 49, 52
Hiraṇya, 120, 151
Hoisington, 2

I

icai-p-pā, 131
Iliad, 97
Iḷamperumāṉaṭikaḷ, 134
Iḷampūraṇar, 174
Ilaṅkō aṭikaḷ, 34
Indra, 113
Indrajit, 120
Iṉiyavai nārpatu, 61
Iṉṉā nāṟpatu, 61
Iṉiyavai nāṟpatu, 61
Iraṭṭaiyar, 154, 155
Iraṭṭaimanimālai, 134
Iraṭṭaiviruttam, 171
Iṟaicci, 26
Iṟaiyaṉār aka-p-poruḷ, 6, 63, 89, 137, 173
Italy, 162
Iṭai-k-kāṭṭu-c-cittar, 164

iyaipu, 83
Iyer V. V. S., 184

J

Jaffna, 120
Jain, 8, 35, 44, 47, 51, 53, 61, 74, 83, 90, 101, 130, 153, 174
Jainism, 50, 51, 63, 65, 73, 95, 121
Jaṉaka, 110
Japan, 50
Jayantan, 91
Jesus, 162
Joseph St., 162

K

Kapilar, 30, 33, 52, 61
Kabir, 106
Kacciyappa Civāccāriyār, 119
Kacciyappar, 11, 167
Kaikēyi, 116
Kailās, 71, 142
Kai-n-nilai, 60
Kaivalya Navanītam, 162
Kaivalya Śri, 94
Kalabhara, 50
Kalampakam, 128, 134, 135, 152, 153, 154
Kaḷavaḻi, 147, 149
Kaḷavaḻinārpatu, 50, 62
Kaḷavēḷvi, 147, 149
kali, 17, 65
Kaliṅga country, 148, 149, 150
Kaliṅka-p-paraṇi, 148
Kalinkattu-p-paraṇi, 148, 151
Kali-t-tokai, 17, 22, 38, 143
Kali-t-tuṟai, 91
Kalki, 182
Kallāṭam, 128
Kallāṭar, 134, 135
Kaḻumalam, 62
Kamalāmpāḷ carittiram, 181
Kampada, 103
Kampadarāmāyaṇa, 103
Kampaṉ, 11, 102-119
Kamparāmāyaṇam, 3, 102, 113, 120, 121, 162
Kampanāṭakam, 106
Kampavarmaṉ, 103
Kannada, 121, 122
Kannasa, 157
Kantapurāṇam, 11, 119, p. 121, 171
Kaṇimētāviyār, 51, 61
Kaṇṇaki, 34, 44, 46
Kaṇṇammā, 164
Kaṇṇappar, 135
Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷalār, 163
Kantiyār, 3
karma, 101
Karṇa, 124
karuṇa, 75
Karuṇākara-t-toṇṭaimāṉ, 148
karu-p-poruḷ, 25
Karuvūr-t-tēvar, 131
Katariṉ Veṟṟi, 186
Katha Sarit Sāgara, 84
Kaṭṭapommaṉ, 169, 170, 186
kaṭṭaḷai-k-kali-t-tuṟai, 65, 66, 73, 129
Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ, 92, 94, 95
Kausalya, 105
Kauṭilya, 48, 85
Kavimaṇi, 189, 190
Kavunti, 45, 46, 104
Kāci-k-kāṇṭam, 157
Kāḷamēkam, 12, 155
Kālakṣēpam, 171, 172, 177
Kāḷi, 66, 106, 147, 149, 150, 151
Kālidāsa, 97, 140
kāma, 53, 54, 62-64
Kāmāndaka, 48
Kāmasāstra, 54, 141
Kāmasūtra, 48, 49, 54
Kāṉ Cāyapu caṇṭai, 169
Kāñci-p-purāṇam, 167
Kāpālikas, 65
Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, 66, 68, 133, 147
Kāri Ācāṉ, 51, 61
Kārnāṟpatu, 59

Kārōṇam, 65
Kārveṭṭi, 91
Kāṭuveṭṭi, 91
Kāttavarāyaṉ, 170
Kāvēri, 71
Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṉam, 44, 51
Khan Sahib, 169
Kiruṣṇa Piḷḷai, 144, 162
Kīḻ-k-kaṇakku, 127
Kīrttaṉai, 170-172
Koṅku, 36, 83, 131
Koṅku vēḷ, 83, 87
Koppam, 148
Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ, 62
Kōpālakriṣṇa Piḷḷai, 172
Kōvai, 130, 137, 139, 140
Kōvalaṉ, 30-42, 46, 104, 170
Kriṣṇa, 77, 78, 92, 97, 145, 146
Kriṣṇa dēvarāya, 155, 174
Kriṣṇa Misra, 152
Kṣatrya Cūḷāmaṇi, 121
Kulacēkarar, 78, 105
Kulōttuṅkaṉ III, 102, 138, 143, 146, 148, 149
Kumāra cuvāmīyam, 121
Kumarakuruparar, 146, 154
Kumarēca catakam, 129
Kumbhakarṇa, 118, 120
kummi, 170
Kumutavalli, 181
Kutampai-c-cittar, 164
Kuṇaṅkuṭi mastāṉ, 164
Kuṇṭakuṇṭāccārya, 47
Kuṇṭalakēci, 45, 99, 100, 151
Kuṭavaḷi-c-cittar, 164
Kuṭṭi-t-tiruvācakam, 161
Kuṟam, 135, 167
Kuṟavañci, 135, 167, 171, 172
kuṟiṉci, 18, 24, 27, 29
Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu, 30, 33
Kuṟuntokai, 19
Kuyil pāṭṭu, 188
Kūḷappa Nāyakkaṉ kātal, 157
Kūrma purāṇam, 157
Kūṭal Caṅkamam, 148
Kūttaṉūrappaṉ, 155

L

Lakṣmaṇa, 92, 105, 109, 112, 118
Lakṣmi, 183
Lakulīca, 65
Laṅkā, 106
Laṭin, 2, 162
Liṅga, 135

M

Macbeth, 92
Maccapurāṇam, 156
Magatā, 85
Mahāpurāṇa, 121
Mahābali, 80, 81
Mahābhārata, 6, 7, 49, 53, 124, 158, 159, 170
Mahatma Gandhi, 95, 115, 157
Mahāvīra, 91, 107, 135
Mahā Vradin, 65
Mahēndra Varma I, 49, 76
Mahātēvaṉ, 181
Malayalam, 157
Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, 179
Maṇḍōtari, 113, 120
Maṇi-k-koṭi, 84
Maṇimēkalai, 7, 34, 43-46, 48, 49, 51, 60, 83, 87, 99, 135
Maṇi-p-pravāḷa, 173, 174
Maṉmata, 77
Maṉōkarā, 86
Maṉōṉmaṇīyam, 185
Maṇṭala Puruṭar, 12, 174
Mantra, 67, 73, 93
Maṉu, 48
Maṉunītikaṇṭa Cōḻaṉ, 176
Maṉusmṛti, 6
Maṟaimalai aṭikaḷ, 176, 181
maṟam, 109, 135, 136
Marathi, 169, 171
marutam, 18, 24, 27, 29, 50, 54, 108
Maṭal, 143
Mataṉa Mañcikai, 86
Maturai, 35, 36, 51, 168

Maturakavi, 81
Maturai-k-kāñci, 28
Maturai Vīraṉ, 170
Maurya, 85
Mayavaram, 159
Mayilainātar, 99
Mā-k-kāyaṉār, 51
Māṉaṉīkai, 86, 88
Maṇikkavācakar, 77, 81, 130, 134, 138
Māṅkuṭimarutaṉ, 19, 28
Māṟavarmaṉ Kulacēkaraṉ, 139
Mārimuttu Piḷḷai, 169
Māriyappa Piḷḷai, 171
Māryammaṉ, 41, 42, 170
Mātai Tiruvēṅkaṭanātar, 152, 156
Māṭalaṉ, 45, 46
Mātari, 40, 34-43, 46
Mātavaiyā, 181
Meṉ toṇṭar, 123
Mey kaṇṭār, 165
Mey-k-kīrtti, 127
Mey-ñ-ñāṉa-p-pulampal, 169
Mēl kaṇakku, 127
Mīṉākṣi, 146
Mīṉākṣicuntaram Piḷḷai, 154, 157, 160, 167
Monologue, 30, 53
Montesquien, 183
Mother Mary, 154
Mōhavataipparaṇi, 152
Mōkṣa, 53, 54
Mohammed, the Great Prophet, 161
Mukkūṭaṟ Paḷḷu, 168
mullai, 18, 24, 27, 29
Mullai-p-pāṭṭu, 29
Mummaṇi-k-kōvai, 134
Muṉṟuṟai, 61
Murukaṉ, 133, 138, 146
Muslim, 147, 154, 161, 168
Mutaṟ Poruḷ, 25
Muttaraiyar, 52
Muttu-t-tāṇṭavarāyar, 171
Mutumoḻi-k-kāñci, 47, 61
Mūtāciriyar, 52
Mūtta tiru-p-patikam, 66
Mysore, 90

N

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, 4, 91, 174
Naiṣada, 157
Naiṭatam, 157
Nakkīrar, 6, 30, 33, 123, 133-135
Naḷaṉ, 158
Nallātaṉar, 52, 61
Nammāḻvār, 80, 81, 105, 173
Nampiḷḷai, 173
Nampiyāṇṭār nampi, 122, 130, 131, 134, 138, 154
Naṉṉūl, 99
Nantaṉār, 172
Nanti-k-kalampakam, 153, 154
Nantivarmaṉ III, 77, 153, 158
Narasimha Varma, 77, 120
Naravāṇaṉ, 84
Nariviruttam, 90, 91
Naṟṟiṇai, 19
Naṭarāja, 79, 139
Nākakumāra kāviyam, 100, 101
Nālaṭiyār, 2, 52, 61
Nālāyiram, 81, 103, 106
Nāmacaṅkīrttaṉam, 134
Ñāṉāmirtam, 162
Ñāṉa Ulā, 142
Nāṉmaṇi-k-kaṭikai, 61, 136
Nāṉmaṇimālai, 134
Nātamuṉi, 81
Nāyaṉmār, 8, 18, 64-82, 96, 102, 121, 122, 124, 127, 136, 153, 161
Neñcil Oru muḷ, 183
Neṭumāṟaṉ, 77
Neṭunalvāṭai, 29
neytal, 18, 24, 27, 29, 77
Nirampa-v-aḻakiya Tēcikar, 167
Nīlakēci, 99, 100, 151
Nīlakēci-t-tiraṭṭu, 100
Noṇti-c-cintu, 169
Noṇti nāṭakam, 169
Novel, 180-184

O

Odyssey, 97
Oḻivil oṭukkam, 163
Oratory, 177-180
Orupā Orupaktu, 128, 134
Oṭṭa-k-kūttar, 6, 9, 12, 120, 124, 143, 146, 150, 151
oxymoron, 2, 178

P

Padmakōmaḷā, 120.
Pali, 50, 51
Paḻamoḻi, 61
Pallava, 34, 49, 50, 74, 133, 134, 138, 148
pallavi, 171
Paḷḷu, 135, 168
Pañcakāvya, 99
Pañcarattiṉam, 130
Pañcatantiram, 175
Pandya, 34, 36 38, 41, 129, 137, 138, 156
Pandya Neṭumāraṉ, 137
Parable of the Prodigal Son, 79
Paramēsvara Pallava, 134
Parañcōti, 167
Paraṇar, 133, 134
Paraṇi, 62, 147, 148, 151, 152
Parasurāma, 111
Parimēlaḻakar, 179
Paripāṭal, 3, 17, 22, 38, 47, 60, 63
Patikam, 18, 66, 128, 134
Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku, 47, 64, 127
Patiṟṟu-p-pattu, 12, 17, 18
Patumāvati, 86, 88, 89
Patmāvati Carittiram, 181
Paṭṭar, 157
Paṭṭiṉa-p-pālai, 29
Paṭṭṉattār, 69, 134, 135, 136, 163, 169
Pattiṉi, 41, 43
Pattirakiriyār, 163
Pattuppāttu, 17, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29, 38, 127, 133
Payāpati, 98
Pavaḷa-k-koṭi, 170
Pāṇṭi-k-kōvai, 137
Pācavatai-p-paraṇi, 152
pālai, 18, 24, 27, 29
Pāḷayakkārar, 156
Pāmpaṉ Cuvāmikaḷ, 120
Pāratam, 171
Pārati, (Bharathi), 187, 190
Pāratitācaṉ (Bharatidasan), 188, 190
pāsupatas, 65
Pāṭuturai, 152
Pāvalar, T.K., 186
Pāvaiviḷakku, 184
Periyapurāṇam, 3, 9, 121, 122, 124, 131, 171, 176
Periyāḻvār, 71, 77, 78, 104, 145, 146
Peruṅkatai, 83, 93, 100
Peruṅkāppiyam, 100
Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 107
Peruntēvaṉār, 158
Peruntēvaṉār Pāratam, 173
Pērāciriyar, 179
Pēy, 66
Pēyār, 68
Pilgrim's Progress, 162
Piḷḷai-p-Perumāḷ Aiyaṅkār, 161
Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ, 144, 146, 147
Piḷḷai-t-tirunāman, 144
Piḷḷai-k-kavi, 144
Piracaṅki, 159
Pirakattaṉ, 33
Pramakītai, 157
Piramōttirakāṇṭam, 157
Pirapōta cantirōtayam, 156
Pirapuṭatēvamārāyan, 155
Piratāpa mutaliyār carittiram, 180
Poetic Prose, 39
Poetry, 187, 191
Polygars, 95
Pommalāṭṭam, 136
Poṉṉiyiṉ Celvaṉ, 182
Poṉṉucāmi Piḷḷai, 181
Pope, 2, 47, 81, 97

Poykaiyāḻvār, 68
Poykaiyār, 62
Poyyāmoḻi, 90
Poyyāmoḻi-p-pulavar, 138
Poruḷ, 53, 55, 58
Portuguese, 162
Prabandha, 142
Prabhōda candrōdaya 152
Prahlāda, 190
Prakrit, 84
Prasāda, 166
Prasisti, 127, 148
Pratāparudra, 102
Prativāsudēva, 91, 92, 97
pre-marital love, 33, 60, 63
Prose, 9, 173, 187
Protestant, 175
Pukaḻēnti, 188
Pukār, 34, 104
Pulantiraṉ kaḷavu, 170
Pulavar Purāṇam, 10
Puḷḷimāraṉ Poraiyaṉ, 60
puram, 17, 24, 27, 29, 52, 62, 103, 127, 140, 144
Puranāṉuru, 17, 24
purāṇa, 90, 96, 122, 123, 131, 137, 161, 166, 170, 181
purātaṉapuruṣaru, 121
Pura-t-tiraṭṭu, 103
Purūrava veṉpa, 158
Putumai-p-pittaṉ, 184, 190
Puttamittirar, 12
Pūtaṉ, 68
Pūtañcēntaṉār, 52

R

Ragaḷa, 122
Rakunātaṉ, 185
Raṅkanāta Mutaliyār, 154
Rājāji, 185
Rājam Aiyar, 181
Rājarāja I, 33, 131
Rājarāja II, 121, 143
Rājārājēccura nāṭakam, 3
Rājasimha, 65, 77
Rājēndra I, 102, 103
Rāma, 78, 92, 104, 105, 109, 113, 120
Rāmakriṣṇa, 164, 190
Rāmaliṅkar, 163, 164, 166, 172, 176
Rāmanāṭaka-k-Kīrttaṉaikaḷ, 171
Rāmanātapuram, 168
Rāmappayyar Ammāṉai, 170
Rāmarājya, 107, 112
Rāmānanda, 106
Rāmānuja, 81, 105
Rāmāvatāram, 119
Rāmāyaṇam, 8, 78, 104, 115, 171
Rāvaṇa, 92, 104, 106, 109, 113
Reynolds, 181

S

Śaiva Ellappa Nāvalar, 161
Śaiva Siddhānta, 123, 175
Śaivism, 72, 81, 102, 160, 161
Śaivite, 65-69, 120, 121, 128, 130, 131, 153
Śaka Year, 120
Salem, 83
Śaṅkara, 157
Śaṅkara Vēdānta, 162
Saṉmārga, 165
Sanskrit, 2, 49, 51, 124, 141, 150, 155, 158, 163, 173, 174
Satyavāk, 90
Satyāgraha, 115
Sākṣin, 46
Sālivāhana, 84
Schweitzer, 56
Shakespeare, 185
Sheridan, 185
Short Story, 184, 185
Siddha, 66, 70, 142
Silpa Sāstras, 139
Simhamukha, 120
Śiśupāla, 92
Śiva, 52, 67, 69, 75, 103, 117, 119, 131, 133, 137, 142, 150
Śivaliṅga, 68

Sīsapadya, 171
Sīta, 104, 105, 106, 113
Skanda purāṇa, 119
Smṛtis, 49, 62
Śōka rasa, 41
South Arcot, 159, 168
Sravana Belgola, 90
Sripurāṇam, 174
Srirangam, 78
Śruti, 108
Subrahmaṇya, 52, 119, 120, 151
Sugrīva, 112
Sūrapaṉma, 120
Sūrpaṇaka, 113
Sūtasamhitā, 157
Swayamvara, 94

T

Tacāṅkam, 127, 136
Takaṭūr-yāttirai, 148
Takkayākaparaṇi, 151
Tamiḻ-c-ceyyaṭ Cintāmaṇi, 10
Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai, 10, 11, 120
Tamiḻ Vyāsa, 130
Tañcaivāṇaṉ Kōvai, 138
Taṇikai-p-purāṇam, 167
taṉi-p-pāṭṭu, 20
Taṉi-p-pāṭal tiraṭṭu, 10
tantras, 67, 151, 164
Tantra Āgama, 65
tapas, 44, 57, 98, 109, 111, 115
Tasso, 162
Taru, 171
Tattuva-p-pirakācar, 155
Tattuvarāyar, 141, 142, 143, 151, 152, 154, 157, 159, 165
tāḻicai, 15
Tāṇṭavarāya mutaliyār, 175
Tārā, 106, 113
Tārācuram, 121
Tāy, 85
Tāyumāṉavar, 71, 163, 166, 169
Telugu Country, 122
Telugu language, 129, 136, 156, 169, 171
Teḷḷāṟeṟinta nampi, 153
Teṉkalai, 174
Teṉkāci, 156
Tēciya-k-koṭi, 186
Tēciṅkurācaṉkatai, 170
Tēmpāvaṇi, 162
Tēvāram, 3, 8, 12, 65, 67, 73, 82, 103, 122, 125, 130, 131, 163
Thackery, 181
Thailand, 77, 102, 153
Thomas, Saint, 47
Tiṇaimālainūṟṟaimpatu, 51, 60
Tiṇaimoḻi aimpatu, 60
Tirikaṭukam, 61, 130
Tirikūṭarācappa-k-kavirāyar, 60, 168
Tirimūrti, 49
Tiruccatakam, 129
Tiruccentūr, 171
Tiru-k-kalampakam, 153
Tiru-k-kaḻiṟṟu-p-paṭiyār, 123
Tiru-k-kayilāya ulā, 142
Tiru-k-kuruvai-p-patiṟṟ-p-pattantāti, 161
Tiru-k-kāvalūr kalampakam, 154
Tiru-k-kōṭṭiyūr, 145
Tiru-k-kōvaiyār, 130, 138
Tiru-k-kuraḷ, 2, 18, 45, 47, 48, 52, 59, 153
Tirukkuṟṟālam, 160
Tiru-k-kuṟippu-t-toṇṭa nāyaṉār purāṇam, 99
Tiru-k-kuṟuntokai, 66
Tirumalai Nāyakkar, 156
Tirumalairāyaṉ, 155
Tirumaḻicai Āḻvār, 69
Tirumaṅkai-y-āḻvār, 79, 105, 128, 143
Tirumantiram, 65, 131
Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 133
Tirumuṟai, 130, 131-133
Tirumūlar, 65, 66, 67, 73, 76, 131, 160, 163
Tirunāma-t-tokai, 134
tirunēricai, 73

Tirunīlakaṇṭa yāḻ-p-pāṇar, 74
Tiruppaṉantāḷ, 160
Tiruppati, 78
Tiru-p-pāṇāḻvār, 79
Tiru-p-pukaḻ, 171
Tiruttakkatēvar, 90
Tiru-t-tāṇṭakam, 73
Tiru-t-toṇṭar tiruvantāti, 122
Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 47, 48, 49, 52-59, 76, 124
Tiru-v-aruṭpayaṉ, 162
Tiruvattiyūr, 151
Tiruvācakam, 2, 3, 88, 129, 130, 138
Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, 66
Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-t-tiru-p-patikam, 66
Tiruvāvaṭuturai, 160
Tiruvāyiṉ muḷḷiyār, 61
Tiruvaiyāṟu, 71
Tiruveḻukkūṟṟirukkai, 128, 134
Tiru.vi.ka, 176, 177, 180, 182, 183, 190
Tiruviḷai-y-āṭal purāṇam, 167
Tiruviraiyā-k-kali, 160
Tiruvuntiyār, 165
Tiviṭṭaṉ, 97
Tiyākavinōtāṉ, 102
Tīrttaṅkaras, 91
tokainilai, 20
Tolkāppiyam, 2, 6, 16, 21, 142, 145, 173, 174
Tolkāppiya-t-tēvar, 154
Tolstoy, 182
Tom Jones, 181
Toṇṭaināṭu, 99
toṇṭa-k-kulam, 71
toṇṭaṉ, 70
Toṇṭaraṭi-p-poṭi, 78
Toṇṭar purāṇam, 121
toṭarnilai, 20
Tōlāmoḻi-t-tēvar, 90, 97
tragedy, 40, 41, 62, 185
Tranquebar, 174
Trinity, 52
Tulasidas, 106
Tungapadra, 122
tumpai, 27
Tuppaṟiyum Cāmpu, 181
Turvinītaṉ, 83
Tūtu, 140, 141

U

Ujjain, 84
Ulā, 134, 141-143
Uḻiñai, 27
Umaṟu-p-pulavar, 161
Umarkayyām, 190
Umāpaticivam, 6, 11, 131, 141, 162
Upanishad, 110, 163
uri-p-poruḷ, 25
Utayaṉaṉ, 84-86, 143
Utayaṇaṉ Caritam, 100, 101
Utīci Tēvar, 153
Uttama Cōḻaṉ, 102
ūṭal, 54

V

Vadībha Simha, 121
Vaiṣṇavism, 69, 77, 79, 80, 102, 160, 161
Vaiṣṇavites, 79, 81, 128, 151, 153
Vaittiyanāta Nāvalar, 152
Vakkapākai, 155
vakuppu, 170
Vaḷaiyāpati, 99
Vallabhacārya, 78
Vaḷḷi, 120
Valvil, 88
Vañci, 17, 62.
vañci, 27 (puṟatturai)
Vaṇika Purāṇam, 99
Vaṉtoṇṭar, 123
Varakuṇa, 138
Varapatiyāṭkoṇṭāṉ, 155
Varatarāca Aiyaṅkār, 157
Varatarācaṉ, 182
Varatuṅkaṉ, 157
Varuṇakulātittaṉ maṭal, 157
Vaśiṣṭha, 109

Vaṭakku-t-tiruvīti-p-piḷḷai, 173
Vaṭamalaiyappa-p-piḷḷai, 156
Vācavatattai, 85, 86, 88, 89, 143
vākai, 27, 29
Vālaka Kōkilam, 155
Vāli, 114
Vālmīki, 8, 106, 113
Vāṇaṉ, 138, 139
Vā. Rā, 184
Vāsudēvas, 91, 92, 97
Vēda, 60, 128
Vēḷir, 84
Veḷḷakkāl Cuppiramaṇiya, Mutaliār, 190
Veḷḷiyampalavāṇar, 3
veṇpā, 47, 48, 65, 66, 67, 68, 104, 129, 157, 158, 163
veṇpā antāti, 69
Veṉṟimālai-k-kavirāyar, 171
veṇṭuṟai, 47
veṭci, 27
Vētanāyaka Cāttiriyār, 172
Vētanāyagam Piḷḷai, 180
Vētānta Tēcikar, 79, 152, 174
Vibhīṣaṇa, 112
Vicayai, 92
Vicayamaṅkalam, 84
Vidyādhara, 86, 97
Vijayālaya, 50
Vijayanakar, 129, 136, 155, 170
Vikkirama Cōḻa, 143, 150
Viḷampinākaṉār, 61
Villipputtūrār, 155, 158, 159
Vināyaka, 52
Vinōtaracamañcari, 10, 176
Vīracoḻiyam, 91, 103
Viṟali viṭu tūtu, 141, 156
Vīra Saivism, 122
Vīra Saivite, 122, 145
viruttam, 65, 66, 90, 91, 96, 97, 103, 129, 157, 158, 171
Viśiṣṭatvaita, 81
Viṣṇu, 52, 59, 69, 104
Visvāmitra, 110, 114
Vivēkāṉantar, 165
Vīrabhadra, 150
Vīrabhahu, 120
Vīrācāmi-c-cettiyar, 176
vīraraca, 41

W

War and Peace, 182

Y

Yacōtarakāviyam, 100
Yaukantarāyaṇa, 85
yāḻ, 35, 74
Yamunāchārya, 81
Yāpparuṅkala-k-kārikai, 50
Yāpparuṅkalam, 99
Yōga, 67, 164
Yūki, 85, 88

Z

Ziegen balg, 174
Zulfikon Khan. 168.

SCANNED
SCANNED